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MODES & MANNERS

OF THE

NINETEENTH CENTURY

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by GAVARNI *La Mode, Paris, July 1831*

MODES & MANNERS

OF THE

NINETEENTH CENTURY

AS REPRESENTED IN THE PICTURES
AND ENGRAVINGS OF THE TIME

BY

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TRANSLATED BY M. EDWARDES

WITH AN INTRODUCTION
BY GRACE RHYS

1818 1842

IN
THREE VOLS.
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CHAPTER I

THE Bourbons had returned to France, the Pope to Rome, and all the Italian and German princes were again on their thrones, received back with cheers that must have been welcome after the greetings to which the populace had accustomed them. The ruinous condition of affairs that had prevailed in Europe during the preceding thirty years, the uncertainty in which all classes had lived and the continual changes of government, had put a stop to all steady progress, and nothing had been permanently established in place of the superannuated and decaying institutions that had been swept away; society was consequently in a state of flux. Everybody of every class was tired out; the war which had been carried on without intermission during the lifetime of a whole generation had crippled the landowners and ruined the commercial class, besides diminishing the population, and the general desire now was for peace and order. The home-returning princes brought cessation of hostilities

Horace Vernet

NAPOLEON'S GRAVE

1819 *Journal des Dames* 1820

with them, but no real peace for themselves or their countries. They belonged to the old condition of things—to the feudalism and the caste government which had been overthrown—they found their subjects full of revolutionary ideas, and of the expectation of the coming time when liberty, and the rights of the nation and the individual, should have become actual facts.

But these ideas were a perfect abomination to the ruling powers, who continued to preach the divine right of kings to a generation that had seen the most indisputably confirmed rights scattered as foam before the wind, and the nations were astonished to see a legitimism restored which now more than ever depended for its existence on the will of the people. Everything had been razed to the ground, and the govern-

1819 *Journal des Dames* 1819

ment which the rulers sought to rebuild out of the fallen ruins was very different to the one which those they ruled intended to erect. Princes and diplomatists did all in their power to restore the old state of affairs, forgetting that the element they were ignoring, and to which they only intended to accord a secondary place, had meanwhile become the one which they needed most to take into consideration. A class had arisen since 1789 which had grown strong, rich, and cultivated —a middle-class that was not to be put down or ignored, for it believed in itself and in its mission. And its mission was the legacy left it by the French Revolution, the determination to make the liberty of the people a reality. Moreover, under this term of liberty was understood a constitutional government, which would impose limits on the powers of those at its head,

The Repository 1819 : *April*

and allow the people a share in the making of laws and distribution of justice.

It was towards this goal that the thoughts and aims of the foremost men of two generations were directed; enthusiasts who pursued a phantom, and mistook appearance for reality. We know now that a constitution drawn up on the most liberal lines can do nothing in the hands of administrators who, supported by a reactionary bureaucracy, sycophantic judges, and a servile police, provide the head of the state with every means of carrying out his autocratic principles. At first the people made known their wishes too plainly to allow them to be overlooked by the reigning monarchs, and so Louis XVII. granted the French their charter, while in Germany

The Repository, London, December 1817

The Repository 1819

the old constitutional laws were examined and revised in order to fit them to existing needs.

But the prerogatives of legitimism — rulers "by the grace of God"—did not accord well with the rights of the people, and the various cabinets of Europe, especially that of Vienna, from which for a whole generation Metternich decided the course of German affairs, made up their minds before long to nullify any acts that had already been passed towards a more liberal form of government, and to return to the old régime. All, it must be admitted, did not go to work in quite such a drastic manner as King Victor Emmanuel of Sardinia, who, ignoring completely what had happened since then, imagined he could let things remain as they were in 1770; or

as Ferdinand VII. of Spain, whose first act on regaining his throne was to re-establish the Inquisition, while the Elector Wilhelm I. of Hesse took no count of the years that had intervened since he had been obliged to leave his country in 1806, and tried to take up the thread of his government as he had left it. The latter was not content with returning to powder and pigtails but insisted on the repayment of all taxes that had been duly levied by the Westphalian Government during the interval, while purchasers of estates were turned out of their possessions without an attempt to compensate them.

All hostile forces, however, brought to bear on the liberal tendencies of the age only succeeded in encouraging them. Politics were now matters of general interest discussed by all classes, and party feeling frequently interfered disastrously in affairs of public moment. It was entirely owing to the political feelings aroused on either side that the trial of Fualdès for an ordinary murder, which began in 1817, developed into a *cause célèbre*; guilty and innocent, judge and witnesses, were all equally compromised, and the original crime was lost sight of amid the seething waves of

The Repository 1819: *March*

The Repository, London, May 1819

Klein, 1818 FELLOW TRAVELLERS *Etching*

party rage. The crime committed by Contrafatto against the five-year-old Hortense Lebon, which should have been simply relegated to the criminal court, was as good as a match in a powder barrel, and set liberals and clerics by the ears. The accused was a priest, and so his fate was sealed, and even after a lapse of twenty years he could not hope to meet with justice. In Germany great excitement was caused by the Fonk case, the verdict being hotly disputed by jurists and laity. The accused was a merchant in Cologne, suspected on well-founded evidence of having killed young Cönen, and public feeling was worked up to such a pitch that it refused to be satisfied, until in 1823 the defendant was acquitted, after the case had cost 150,000 guldens.

The political movement in Germany spread to the student class and led to the stormy scenes at the Wartburg festival on October 18, 1817, when a party of enthusiasts, not content with destroying the works of many unbeloved authors, also

Journal des Dames 1820

ing conditions by long years of imprisonment—the ruin, sometimes the loss of their lives—but only for ideas of freedom to take stronger hold of the hearts and head of the people. In Germany, as in France, the opponents were divided into two camps; on one side being the different governments with their aristocratic following and burnt the Corporal's stick, stays, and other attributes of the reactionary party. The persecution which set in against those suspected as demagogues caused the death of numerous victims, among them many who were not of the worst. Who does not remember Fritz Reuter? These paid for their hopes and plans for the improvement of exist-

The Repository 1820: *October*

Ingres LADY WITH SUNSHADE *Sketch*

the bureaucracy; and on the other the liberal-minded middle class of citizens. During this period of discontent and unrest, the one sought for salvation in the past, the other in the future, and no possible way was found to bridge the difference between the two parties. It was a fixed and widespread belief among the people that the well-being of the general commonwealth was threatened by those in power; they looked upon this indeed as a matter of course. And as if this separation between neighbours of the same country was not sufficient, quarrels broke out between the nations.

At the very time when such choice spirits as Goethe, Humboldt, and Schiller were consciously rejoicing over their cosmopolitanism and reaching out hands of friendship to kindred souls independent of the race to which they belonged, disturbances arose calculated to emphasize rather than to lessen a feeling of jealous isolation on the part of various nationalities. Creoles and mulattos rose against the Spaniards in Central and South America; Basques and Catalonians in Spain itself against the Castilians. From 1817 dates the rise of a sense of nationality among the Czechs, contemporaneous with the discovery of the Königinhofer manuscript of national songs, and the publication of the old poems contained in it, by Wenzel Hanka.

Gérard MME. ADELAIDE 1821
(*Gallery, Versailles*)

Begas A Family Group 1822

(*Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne*)

In 1821 the Greeks made their first efforts to shake off the Turkish yoke; in 1830 the Poles rebelled against their Russian oppressors; in 1831 the separation took place between the Walloons and the Dutch, and shortly afterwards the Magyars began to realise they were a nation in themselves. Latin ceased to be the spoken language of their diets, and was replaced by Hungarian. Italy, partly under foreign rule and partly broken up into small states, made efforts towards unity; a network of secret alliances and perpetual conspiracies threatened public order and the peace of reigning powers.

This general embitterment of feeling and universal mistrust and hatred at home and abroad among the nations gave fitting encouragement to the political assassin, who now became another factor in public affairs. Ever since tyrants

existed on the earth, attempts have from time to time been made upon their lives, but on the whole these acts of violence were rare before such periods of exceptional and passionate excitement as that of the religious wars of the sixteenth century, when murder was as frequent as the flashes of lightning from a thunder-cloud. Assassinations, hitherto comparatively infrequent, became so numerous in the nineteenth century all over Europe, due to the political excitement then raging, that during the years with which we are now dealing, there were more perhaps than could be counted during as many centuries of the past.

The Repository 1820: *August*

In Mannheim, on March 23, 1819, took place the murder of the Russian state-councillor August von Kotzebue, by the student Karl Ludwig Sand, and a few weeks later the minister Ibell of Nassau fell by the hand of another student, July 1st, 1819. Gentz's diaries and letters inform us of the effect produced on the various potentates by these murders, and how the writer, having a bad conscience of his own, was afraid to go outside the house for days together on the arrival of a young stranger in Gastein. All things considered, it is not surprising that draconic laws were passed against students

Wiener Zeitschrift, July 1820

and against the universities. On the 13th February, 1810, the Duc de Berry fell a victim in the Opera-House in Paris to the dagger of a fanatic like Louvel. During the carnival of 1824 the Marquis Loulé, the Portuguese Minister, was murdered;

The Repository 1820: *February*

in 1825 Nicholas I.'s life was attempted by Sergius Trubetzkoi, Muravieff, and Paul von Pestel. In 1831 Kapodistrias fell in Nauplia, and during the eighteen years' reign of the citizen king, one assassination followed another, with pistols, knives, and infernal machines, the explosion of Fieschis' bomb, on July 28, 1835, killing Marshal Mortier. At last Louis Philippe could not go outside the palace or even stand on the balcony at the Tuileries without exposing himself to danger. The mania of assassination spread like a pestilence, and only by

a miracle did Queen Victoria escape from two attempts on her life in 1840, while Frederick William IV. owed his life to the bad quality of the weapon chosen by a murderous Czech, who fired at the king and queen on July 26, 1844, as they were driving out of the royal residence in Berlin, preparatory to starting for Silesia. Nor did party spirit confine its rage to such higher-class victims, for in 1845 the magistrate Leu, of Lucerne, expiated with his death the crime of being a leader of the Ultramontanes.

Mansion
PORTRAIT MINIATURE
(*Wallace Collection, London*)

These murders, which reached an incredible number in the course of a few years, give an idea of the political ferment of the time and of the discontent and excitement which no efforts on the part of governing bodies had power to suppress. Modern ideas of liberty were not to be stifled, and now an ally arose which the opponents of democracy might well nickname the "Hydra," for if the press was silenced in one quarter it made itself doubly heard in another.

Berlin had had its *Vossische* since the middle of the eighteenth century, England its *Times* since 1780, but the old newspapers, with their sparse daily intelligence, had not much effect on public sentiment, and were indeed only organs made use of by the several governments to publish such news as they chose.

A press which could be justly looked upon as the interpreter of public opinion did not appear until 1815, when Louis XVIII. of France, contrary to the policy of Napoleon, who subjected it to a strict censorship, granted it a charter of freedom.

1824

MME. RÉCAMIER IN HER OWN HOUSE

(Lithograph by Aubry-Lecomte after de Jutinne)

Journal des Dames 1821

The Repository 1821

The improvement in the printing-machine, which made it possible to print off 2000 copies in an hour, gave a further opportunity for the use of the press as an organ of propaganda.

A daily press was now started, to the surprise and admiration of Europe and the dismay of potentates; its activity, the variety of its publications and the rapidity and regularity of their circulation, were things new and astonishing. Constitutional papers like the *Journal des Débats*, and the opposition one, the *Constitutionnel*, started in 1815, of which Thiers was later the influential director, or like the *Globe*, and the *National*, brought the discussion of political affairs into the daily life of the people; they formed public opinion, and finally became a necessity. The spirit, which they them-

Journal des Dames 1822: *January*

1823: *December*

1823: *May*

Journal des Dames

selves had called forth, was felt as a menace by the ruling powers, and so they began their struggle with the press which had only just obtained its liberty. Neither censorship, or laws, or difficulties of various kinds placed in its way could, however, check its work; the attempt to subject the press to a preventive censorship, and the insistence on the contents of a paper being submitted for inspection before they were allowed to be published, cost Charles X. his throne.

The war carried on by the French Government against the press, which began in 1826 and only ended with the expulsion of the Bourbons in 1830, caused an increasing bitterness of feeling among the people, and the king, instead of being greeted on parade with the usual "Vive le roi," heard shouts

Ingres LADY WITH EYE-GLASSES 1823

of "Vive the liberty of the Press." Women took as lively an interest in the matter as men, as is shown by the anecdote related of a girl, who being asked to dance at a ball by the banker Lafitte, answered, "Tell me first, if you are for the liberty of the press." The truce obtained by the press in France in 1830 gave it a fresh start; Émile de Girardin started the cheap paper, sold by the single copy, and thereby brought about a complete transformation in the daily press.

Up to this time papers could only be had by paying a heavy yearly subscription, but now even those of small means could obtain one. Their contents also had been from the pens of well-known writers and made claim to be considered as literature, but their columns began now to be filled by the

anonymous journalist. During the Restoration period no paper that had any self-respect thought of publishing financial news of any kind ; under the rule of the citizen king the affairs of the exchange occupied an increasingly large space in the daily papers. The press went further, gaining yet more power and popularity by inserting advertisements and tales, and this won the patronage of the women. Alexandre Dumas, Eugène Sue, Honoré de Balzac were the first to publish their novels in the daily papers, and success rightly recompensed their innovation.

Germany was not so happily situated in this respect as France ; it could boast, it is true, of the *Rheinischer Merkur*, an excellently conducted and free-spoken liberal paper edited by Joseph Gorrès, and of others not less ably conducted, such as Luden's *Nemesis*, Oken's *Isis*, &c. ; but the Carlsbad decrees of 1819, the direct result of Sand's crime, muzzled the periodic press of the country. The strict censorship prevented all free speaking and put a stop to all enterprise on the part of the editors, while enormous stamp-duties added to the expense of subscription and so lessened the circulation. And so although about twenty-two fresh papers appeared in Germany between 1823 and 1847, they could not compete either in circulation or in influence with those of France. Public opinion only gradually grew to be a power in Germany, while the new ideas acquired strength but slowly. When the

Journal des Dames 1823: *May*

Wiener Zeitschrift, July 1825

Ingres MONSIEUR LEBLANC 1823

(*Bonnat Collection, Bayonne*)

liberals in Naples set up a form of government in 1821, the Austrian army, marching in to deliver the king, traversed the whole country without encountering a single corps of the troops that had been mobilised by the constitution ; there is justification, it seems, in the scorn with which Gentz speaks of these " liberal heroes." Bubna suppressed the liberal movement in Piedmont with equal ease, and it was the same in Spain in 1823, when the Duc d'Angoulême marched quietly to Cadiz, being received everywhere with perfect indifference instead of having to face the guerilla warfare of 1809–14 which he had expected. Since the enemy would give him no oppor-

tunity of displaying his prowess, he was forced, in order not to return home entirely without laurels, to storm the Trocadero, which scarcely offered a show of defence.

Grimm HEINRICH HEINE 1827

In 1825 a group of Russian officers banded themselves together to give their country a constitution; their efforts, however, failed miserably, not only for want of a proper leader, but quite as much on account of the ignorance of the people, who thought constitution meant the wife of the Grand Duke Constantine. In other countries besides Germany the progressive middle-classes were obliged to consign their sympathies and antipathies to inaction, and were forced to look on while the powers insisted on Greece, after it had fought for years to obtain its liberty, accepting the autocratic rule of a German prince; to look on while Poland, with the passive consent of Prussia, was crushed beneath the heel of the oppressor, and to suffer Belgium's efforts at self-deliverance to terminate to the advantage of a Coburg prince.

Gérard 1823

DUCHESSE DE BROGLIE

The first feeble success of German liberalism was the banishment of the Duke of Brunswick, who after a reign of scandalous misgovernment was forced to leave the country on September 6, 1830, the flames that were destroying his own castle helping to light him

Ingres MME. DELORME 1828

on his way. The middle-classes could afford to wait, for they were in possession of the only two things which confer lasting power—wealth and culture. The French nobility had been deprived of possessions and influence by the Revolution; in Germany, and especially in Prussia, the seignorial rights of the lesser as well as of the larger landowners had suffered severely from the new order of things, and the nobility had not recovered from the financial losses suffered during the Napoleonic invasion and the subsequent wars for freedom. The nobles, having lost their landed property, were forced to take service at court or in the army, or to enter some kind of official post; and this, owing to the heavy claims made upon their scanty pay, ended by impoverishing them still more. Meanwhile the middle-classes rose more and more into power, for their condition was prosperous, and they were not deterred by any prejudices or privileges from making their way as they chose. Earning was not prohibited among them, and riches soon gave them a sense of independence; the nobility and clergy were played out, it was now the turn of the commercial and industrial classes. So rapid was their rise that even Charles X. was reminded by Sosthène de la Rochefoucauld that it was only the semblance of power which the king held in his hands, and that war and peace now depended on the will of four or five large banking houses. When shortly afterwards the citizen

king sat upon the throne, and bankers occupied the ministerial benches, "Enrichissez-vous" became the password of the day—money held the reins of power, and money had swept away all class distinctions; only two castes were now recognised, that which had money and that which had not.

A power had also been discovered which added enormously to the riches of the commercial classes. The steam-mill had been invented in the eighteenth century but was not generally in use until the nineteenth, by which time it had undergone innumerable improvements. Whereas England in 1810 had 5000 steam-engines at work in her factories, France had about 200, and Prussia one; but after 1830 the numbers in use in the latter country swelled so rapidly that the political economists grew quite alarmed.

Every discovery of science was at this time turned to practical use, and a new impulse was given to industry which produced an even more radical change in the condition of society than any kind of government had been able to effect. The ordinary conditions of life of millions of the population underwent a transformation, and the whole basis of existence was materially and morally altered. The governments in power furthered the growth of industry the more eagerly because they were anxious to turn the thoughts of the general public from matters of politics, and this led to the opening of exhibitions, which may be looked upon as landmarks in economic history. Munich had its industrial exhibition in 1818, Dresden in 1824, Berlin in 1827; the exhibits, however, were in each case confined to the productions of the particular country. The first exhibition for the whole of Germany was held at Mainz in 1842; England's first exhibition was at Manchester in 1843. In 1844 the German Customs Union held one in the arsenal at Berlin.

The revolution caused by the introduction of machinery into factories was hardly a matter of more general astonishment than the increase in traffic now facilitated by the use of steam. It was reported from America in 1812 that she had fifty steamships working, but the steamer that in 1816 ran

Wiener Moden 1826: *June*

between Paris and Rouen, was the first vessel of the kind seen on the Continent, and it appeared equally marvellous to the elegant Parisian as to the Norman peasant. The first steamers on the Rhine and the Elbe dated from 1818; on the Danube from 1830. The more general use of steam from this time forward is best shown by the number of vessels at work. In 1815 England had only 20 steamers; in 1823, 160; in 1830, 315; in 1838, 538; and in 1833 she built her first steam-driven ship of war.

But even steamers did not strike such wonder into the beholders as locomotives. Horse-drawn trams had been known in Austria, as well as in England, since 1832, one having run between Linz and Budweis; but that steam should be able to carry people seemed so impossible that a whole library of works was written to prove its impracticability. Even famous scholars like the physicist Arago, as late as 1836, pronounced in the most dogmatic way against this new discovery; yet in 1830 the first locomotive ran between Liverpool and Manchester.

Schwind 1827

From "A Walk Outside the Gates."

The first railway in Germany ran from Nürnberg to Fürth, and was opened on December 7, 1835. In 1837 followed the Leipzig and Dresden line. In the same year the Paris-St. Germain

Schwind *From "A Walk Outside the Gates."* 1827

line was opened, and in 1838 the Vienna-Wagram and the Berlin-Potsdam. The evil prognostications of the pessimist seemed to be justified when the terrible accident on the Paris-Versailles line occurred in 1842, costing the lives of a hundred passengers, among them the famous navigator Admiral Dumont d'Urville; it showed that as yet the new power that had been pressed into the service of man was not sufficiently understood.

Steam power, which by providing means for the production of an increased number of articles and then facilitating their exportation to the farthest points of the globe, and enabling manufacturers to carry on their industries on a large scale, while it made thousands rich, reduced hundreds of thousands to a state of dependence even more hopeless and more degrading than the serfdom of feudal times. The industrial population was now divided into two hostile classes, the rich and the poor; a struggle began between them of which we have not yet seen the end. The Tory Government in England, alarmed at the continued strikes which upset the market and threatened the public peace, took legal measures, and in 1825

Ingres MME. GATTEAUX 1829

made coalitions among the workpeople punishable. In 1834 the strike of the silk-weavers in Lyons was only suppressed after five days' sanguinary street fighting. The disturbances among the spinners and nobs in Glasgow lasted for two years, 1837–38. Even the famished Silesian weavers in 1844 were only brought to reason by the sword; their duty being, according to the ideas of this police-ridden state, to hold their tongues, work, and pay taxes.

Then Proudhon flung his hate and contempt in the face of the bourgeoisie, who began to tremble for their possessions. Property is theft, he proclaimed, and his words ran like wildfire among the poor. The general distress forced both governments and private individuals to turn their thoughts

Wiener Zeitschrift, July 1826

Meyer, after G. H. Harlow LORD BYRON

and energies to the improvement of the social condition of the working-classes. The Duc de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt founded the first savings bank for the poor in 1818; England, from 1833 to 1844, was occupied with laws for the increase of the nation's well-being. In 1840 a large industrial undertaking was started in Val des Bois, in which the workers were to have an equal interest with the masters; philosophers were everywhere devoting themselves to the work of seeking new systems for the salvation of mankind. The years between 1830 and 1836 saw a veritable explosion of socialistic ideas. Socialism as preached by a St. Simon became the fashion; women became enthusiastic disciples of Père Enfantin, and by their exaggerations helped the extinction of his teaching.

Communism found eager representatives. Cabet wrote his journey to Icaria, but his Utopia, financed by those who favoured his scheme, ended disastrously within the year. Philanthropists grew active, among them the Duchesse

Krüger *From "The Parade" of* 1839
(*Royal Palace, Berlin*)

d'Angoulême in Paris, and Bettina in Berlin, who set to work systematically with their humane projects ; and Appert, who began his zealous work for the amelioration of the material and moral condition of prisoners in 1828.

Dickens in his novels laid bare the iniquity of certain social institutions and succeeded in getting them abolished ; the philanthropists had the further happiness of seeing the emancipation of slaves in the English colonies in 1833.

A fresh element of discord was introduced by the women themselves, for the woman question came to the fore in 1830. In contrast to Balzac's "femme de trente ans," irresistible by the charm of her womanhood, we have the type of the "femme incomprise," as represented in the creations of George Sand and the Countess Hahn-Hahn, who both protested against the spiritual enslavement of the woman by the man. The more emancipated claimed political rights and equality of citizenship for their own sex, while the liberated woman, knowing more of rights than of duties, wished to do away with the bondage of the marriage tie.

Society was further disturbed by the increasing number of suicides, of which the first official report was made in Denmark

Krüger — *From "The Parade" of* 1839
(*Winter Palace, Petersburg*)
Gottfried Schadow and Schinkel in the background

Delaroche 1830

HENRIETTE SONTAG

(*Gallery, Dresden*)

in 1835. Philanthropists, philosophers, theologians, doctors, and political economists all took alarm, and endeavoured by finding the cause to stem the evil; but they remained helpless in face of a phenomenon that was governed by a higher law, and seemed a very mockery of the power of free-will. It was not the only symptom of a chronic social malady, for which no remedy that was offered by science had now taken the place of religion, and to which society at this time made its chief appeal. Scientific knowledge, even if confined to a particular branch, was of more repute than general culture; the learned man's studies were estimated at a higher value than the work of the artisan or the merchant; while the soldier, who was not required during the long years of peace in Germany, was only looked upon as a mere encumbrance. The learned part of the community was held in great honour

by the middle-classes, who saw in their scholars the highest product of their own particular environment. For many years Germany looked to her learned men as the political leaders of the country and the champions of its liberty, and there were many who fulfilled the expectation of those who trusted them. Such were Luden and Oken at Jena, Arndt at Bonn, Rotteck and Welcker at Freiburg, Jordan at Marburg, and the renowned Sieben at Göttingen, who sacrificed themselves to the cause, and whose heroism was the more passionately admired and prized the more strenuously they set themselves in opposition to the governing power. Heroes belonged to the opposition alone. Between the years 1820 and 1850 no one was more popular in Germany than the professor.

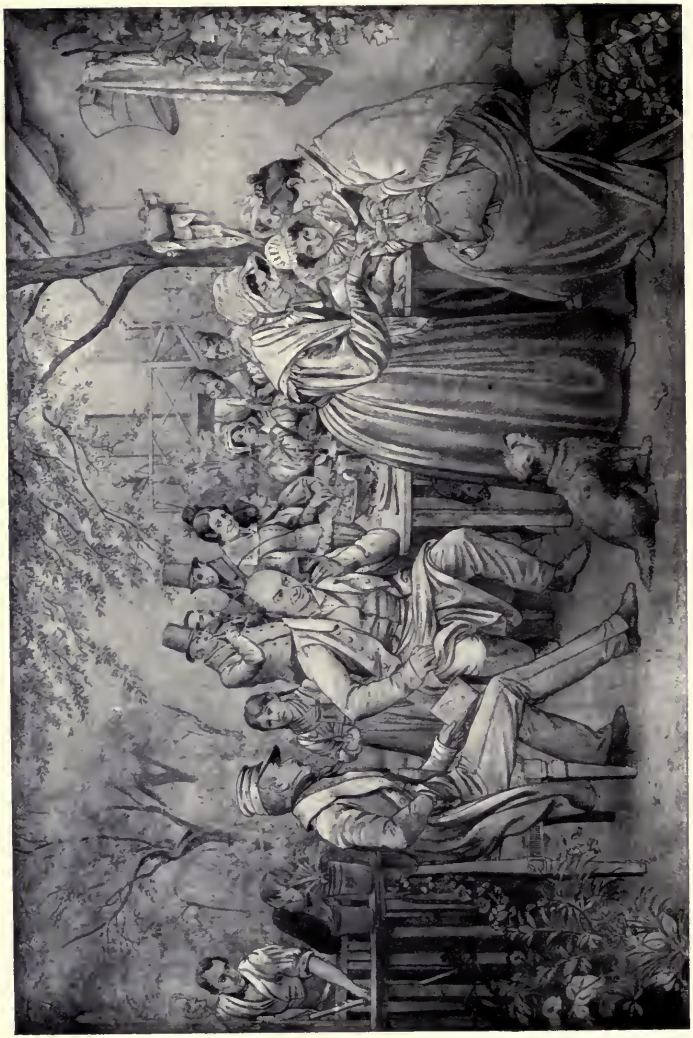
Maurin FOUND OUT *Lithograph*

From "Family beside the Starnberg Lake" 1832
(Photograph: Franz Hanfstaengl, Munich)

"Mondbeglänzte Zaubernacht,
die den Sinn gefangen hält,
Steig' herauf in alter Pracht,
Wundervolle Märchenwelt!"

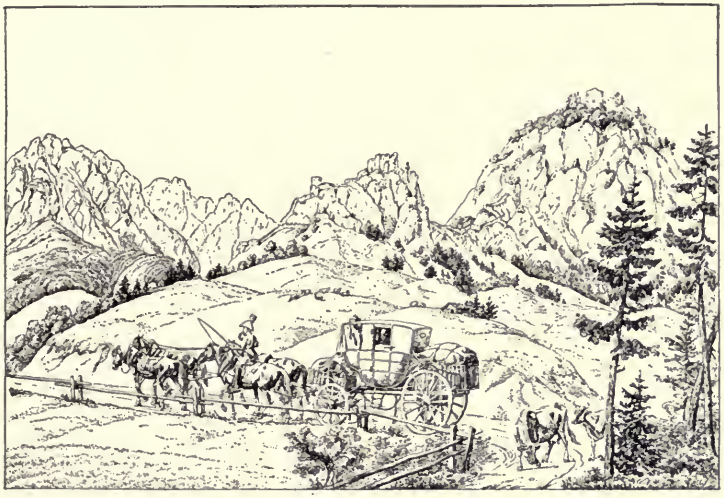
II

SIDE by side with the spirit which animated this newly formed society of the middle-classes, a practical and money-grubbing spirit that gained strength every day, arose a longing for something outside the dull realities of daily existence—a longing for the ideal; for escape from the noise and bustle, from factories, machinery, politics, and money. The more ordinary the surroundings, the more insistent the claims of the matter-of-fact life around them, the further did the fancy of the rich



Neuventher — A Family Party — 1835

(*Photograph : Franz Hanfstaengl, Munich*)



Joh. Adam Klein MAIL-COACH ON THE EHRENBERG PASS

citizens fly back into bygone times; and so at the beginning of this new period, which was all their own, they sought their ideal in the mediæval past. Poetry and learning, dress and manners, life and art, looked for guidance and inspiration to the Middle Ages—the present was ignored and hated; and so they forsook the firm footing of reality to seek a home in that fantastic world which knew of no actual existence, and which began and ended no one knew where. The modest claims of daily life were entirely out of keeping with these æsthetic longings; the spirit of man was torn in two, a great dissatisfaction took possession of the world, there was a universal striving after happiness and freedom, but these were sought for anywhere rather than in the immediate life. Men withdrew more and more into themselves, the realities of life were lightly prized, the prose of existence was scorned; poetical and unpractical became synonymous, and Jakob Grimm stated as his opinion that the scholar could find pleasure only in separating himself entirely from his actual life and surroundings.

Summers

MR. HANCOCK'S LONDON-PADDINGTON MOTOR-CAR "ENTERPRISE"

The world was tired of the enlightenment that by stripping the mysteries from their religion had ruined the faith of Christians, and now looked back with envy on the childish wonder and belief of the past—tired of the flat conventionalities of the middle-class life, and intoxicated with the glamour of the chivalric times of old; tired of the barren monotony of to-day and all days, and longing to be back in the age of imagination, wonder, and fable. As life and its realities grew duller and more prosaic poetry and art grew more poetic and unreal; artists and authors steered with full sail across the boundless sea of romanticism, to seek on the far shore of some unearthly region for the blue flower that grew nowhere on their own philistian soil.

The storms which for a generation had swept across Europe, to the destruction of every political and social institution, changing the whole order of things and bringing excitement and unrest into the life of the humblest inhabitant, had upset the balance of men's minds, and now that outward peace had

by GAVARNI *La Mode, Paris, 1830*

Maclise-Thackeray, after Stieler

GOETHE

been restored they found existence empty and unattractive. Discontent and longing filled their souls; but the eyes that persistently refuse to gaze on the earth and forever seek after that which is beyond, grow dim, and the desire which passes over the attainable to strive after the unattainable is bound to be unfruitful.

The reaction against the unsatisfying power of intellectual knowledge to still their longings drove the religiously inclined into the arms of the Romish Church. Reigning princes like the Duke and Duchess of Köthen, the latter a daughter of Frederick William II., poets like Friedrich Schlegel, Zacharias Werner, artists like Schadow, Overbeck, Riepenhausen, gifted women like Sophie von Schardt and Dorothea Veit, became converts; and political writers—Adam Müller, Phillips, K. L. von Haller, who went over to Catholicism—forged fresh political weapons out of their new convictions. Chateaubriand was the fashionable poet of the higher circles, for his romantic conception of Catholicism pleased the tone of an age that in 1814 saw the re-establishment of the Jesuits, and the Church, restored

BEETHOVEN

(*From an anonymous caricature*)

Barthenschläger-Hildebrandt

ALEXANDER V. HUMBOLDT IN HIS STUDY

to her former power, performing her gorgeous services as of yore; while to their further surprise, the French, in February 1826, were witness of four large processions, passing through the streets with their king and court in the train of the clergy.

Hayter

WEBER AT COVENT GARDEN

The pietist, Juliane von Krüdener, became the Egeria of the Emperor Alexander, who, full of enthusiastic and vague ideas, was the promoter of the Holy Alliance, a singular combination of religion and politics, to which Catholic, Protestant, and Greek potentates set their seal,

David UNE HEURE AVANT LE DUEL *Lithograph*

and in the name of the Holy Trinity engaged to preserve the peace of the world.

The Protestant Church, of which the most noted theologian at this time was Schleiermacher, who saw in religion not the mere adherence to a creed, but the sum total of all the higher feelings, was broken up into many sects. In 1817 and 1818 the Chiliasts departed from Würtemberg in crowds on their way to South Russia, to await the millennium; Irvingites and Mormons received the pentecostal gift afresh in 1830; the Baptists of Hamburg began to propagate their doctrines in 1834; three journeymen locksmiths in 1838 carried their Nazaritism into Hungary. The number of those who joined different orders increased in all directions, and when an endeavour was made to check separation by putting the Union of Evangelicals—in which Frederick William III. had a special and personal interest—into force, this blundering police measure only served to make martyrs of the Lutherans, while

David UNE HEURE APRÈS LE DUEL *Lithograph*

the old lack of uniformity continued. A secret cult also was spreading which celebrated its rites with immoral orgies; particulars of these were disclosed in 1835 to the preachers Ebel and Distel, but the prosecution which ensued was dragged out for years, and was never brought to any final conclusion for fear of compromising the whole of "good" society.

Politics as well as religion gave birth to enthusiasts. When the Slavs of the Morea rose in 1821 against the Turks, the philhellenic spirit ran like wildfire through Europe and set every heart aflame that had grown by its classic culture to associate all that was ideal with the name of Greece, and the cause of Greece became the cause of liberty and justice. The heroes who fought so desperately for the freedom of this small downtrodden state — the Miaulis, Bozzaris, Kolokotroni — have they not long been familiar in grammars and anthologies to teacher and scholar, and grown as beloved as Epaminondas,

La Mode, Paris, 1830

Gavarni FANCY COSTUMES FROM *La Mode*, 1831

Themistocles, and Leonidas! The rebellion, which filled the reigning powers with fear and displeasure, was greeted with acclamations of joy by the people, and philhellenism became a religion with young and old.

Bankers, such as Eynard of Geneva and Hoffmann of Darmstadt, devoted their money to the good cause; beautiful women like Récamier were its propagandists; poets like Wilhelm Müller and Shelley dedicated their best poems to Greece; and any one who could wield a sword or hold a rifle —men like General von Normann, youths like Lord Byron— took part in the holy war. The quiet protest of a practical scholar like Fallmereyer, and the verdict of a diplomatist like Prokesch, were lost to hearing amid the *Evoë Evoë* of the liberty-drunk bacchanalians.

To the Greek frenzy succeeded the Polish, but the latter played itself out on purely æsthetic grounds, for Polish policy —particularly in Germany—was more directly within view.

If enthusiasm had been aroused by these events on behalf of an oppressed people, it was so equally in 1833, when the first Carlist war broke out on behalf of a prince whose rights had been shamefully encroached upon, and aristocratic adventurers, as Goeben, Lichnowski, and Rahden from Germany, flocked from all sides to fight with Don Carlos for absolutism and the Inquisition.

What term other than romantic can we apply, when a Prince Napoleon, depending solely on a passing phase of public feeling, without followers and without money, tries in 1836 at Strasburg, and again in 1840 at Boulogne, to persuade the French to accompany him and to take possession of France?

Romantic again was that King of Bavaria who allowed a political offender to beg for pardon to his portrait; and that Prussian lord who thought to satisfy the longings of the age with sounding words, who took knighthood earnestly, and founded the order of the Swan for the chivalrous combat with poverty and misery. A romanticist *pur sang* was Frederick William IV., who in the middle of the nineteenth century believed in the divine right of the crown, and on his personal responsibility towards his people.

The romantic spirit, however, was not confined to kings; it dazzled both high and low. How otherwise can we account for the Kaspar Hauser affair? On Whit Monday, 1828, a peasant youth from Upper Bavaria appeared in Nüremberg and expressed his wish to become a soldier. There was nothing striking about his appearance or in his behaviour, except the shyness of awkwardness, or at most the embarrassment of one who had something to hide; and yet round this unhappy youth there suddenly sprang up quite a legend, which could not have been fuller of strange adventures and romance if it had been the plot of a shilling shocker. Jurists like Feuerbach and philosophers like Daumer forced this simple-minded clown

Gavarni LES APPRÊTS DU BAL

1830

La Mode

Gavarni

to entangle himself in a web of lies, until he became an object of pity as "the victim of unnatural parental cruelty," and publicity being given to the affair by all the papers, was finally adopted as the "Child of Europe." English lords and Hungarian counts interested themselves in his career, and at last there was no family of distinction that was not possessed by the undisturbed belief that Kaspar was a prince, preferably the heir to the throne of Baden. One man only (a native of Berlin of course), the commissioner of police, Merker, giving ear to reason, raised a warning voice, but he was completely silenced, until finally the patrons of the youth began to have doubts themselves, and the poor wretch, after several feigned attempts at suicide, stabbed himself too far one day, and in 1833, to the great relief of his supporters, exchanged this world for a better one.

How can we account for the growth of this tragi-comedy except by that tendency to romanticism which was infecting all the spirits of the time? What other cause can be assigned to the fact that when the clockmaker Naundorff, who came from Spandau and did not understand a word of French, appeared in Paris in May 1832, and declared himself to be the Dauphin, the son of Louis XVI., crowds gave credence to his tale, and were not dissuaded from this belief even when his antecedents, his detention in a house of correction, &c., became known.

Gavarni

FANCY COSTUME FROM *La Mode*, 1830

When members of the

Kaiser THE CHINESE TOWER AT MUNICH *Lithograph*

French aristocracy could thus so easily be duped, we are not surprised to hear of an old lady, leading a retired life in Charlottenburg, being enticed by a swindler in 1835–36, to part with her whole property because the king and the Princess Radziwill were in difficulties and required money. A farcical affair, as far as his part in it was concerned, and the manner in which when he returned to Berlin he squandered the money he had obtained, and the forged letters of the king and the latter's cousin written in the most illiterate German, which were produced in court, gave rise to general hilarity.

The thirst for the romantic alone could have had power to transform the cowardly murderer Lacenaire, in the eyes of the public, into a picturesque demi-god, or have allowed an hysterical liar, like Maria von Morell, or a *mauvais sujet* like la Roncière, to upset the law-courts and the public by their grotesque behaviour during trial.

by GAVARNI *La Mode, Paris, April 1831*

Grenier SCHOOL FRIENDS

Commerce and industry were at this time the whole of life, the merchant and the manufacturer the leaders of the world, and money the shibboleth of salvation. All beauty seemed to have departed—to have fled into the past, and as the past was only known superficially, it appeared all the more enchanting; thither every one turned to seek for an ideal of great deeds, noble men, and dignity of life. And as if in response to this craving for idealistic beauty, an author arose to give it satisfaction—the romantic novelist Walter Scott.

Germany had for a generation past had its historical novel, but such coarse and unliterary productions as the works of a Benedict Nauber, a K. H. Spiesz, a Chr. Vulpius, found their chief readers in the kitchen; the delightful narrative art of the great Scotsman met the demands of a cultivated public. "Waverley" appeared in 1814, to be followed in 1820 by "Ivanhoe," in 1821 by "Kenilworth," in 1823 by "Quentin

Noel, after Gavarni IN THE PARK AT MONTMORENCY *Lithograph*

Maurin THE LEAP ACROSS THE BROOK *Lithograph*

Durward," and each in turn met with unprecedented success. Here for the first time, to the delight of the reader, was an intelligent picture given, by one who had knowledge of his subject, of knights-errant, troubadours, and châtelaines—given in a setting of secret cloisters and turreted castles; and as the author was also a poet, and gave life and warmth and reality to his characters, the effect produced was immense. The Scott novels were translated into every language; new editions, reissues, translations flooded the market during the twenties of the nineteenth century, for no one would read anything else. The publisher, Schumann of Zwickau, father of Robert Schumann, made quite a large fortune by these translations. The stage also made use of this profitable material; in 1823 "Kenilworth" was given in Berlin, and in 1827 the fascinating Leicester, the lovely Amy, Elizabeth, and Mary Stuart, whirled over the boards in a ballet in Naples, while the librettists of Auber's "Leicester," Rossini's "Lady of the Lake," Marschner's "Templar and Jewess," secured the success of the compositions beforehand by the popularity of their subjects.

In higher circles subjects for fancy-balls were taken from Scott's favourite heroes and heroines. At a ball given by Sir Henry Wellesley, the English ambassador in Vienna, the cream of the Austrian nobility—Archduchesses, Princesses, Princes, and Counts—appeared in magnificent costumes and hung with jewels, as Quentin Durward, Ivanhoe, Leicester, Elizabeth, and Amy Robsart.

At a masquerade in 1827 the court of Ivanhoe was represented, and in 1835 that of Quentin Durward. Women wore Amy Robsart satin, and an ingenious retail dealer of Berlin in 1826 sold Walter Scott groats, ten silver groschen a peck.

Rivals for the public favour in Germany were Baron de la Motte-Fouqué, Willibald Alexis, and Karl Spindler, who

by GAVARNI *La Mode, Paris, 1831*

THE ABBOTSFORD FAMILY

MOURNING COSTUME *La Mode*, 1831

La Mode, 1830

Noel, after Gavarni THE WALK

is nowadays quite forgotten, but who held the readers of those days spellbound with his novels of "The Jew," and "The Jesuit." Henriette von Paalzow, the once-renowned authoress of "Godwie Castle," "St. Roche," and other books, introduced a pleasant womanly atmosphere into her historical novels, and they found their way into every drawing-room until a demand for more powerful literature arose in the forties.

Up till now novels had always dealt with the vicissitudes of courtship and had invariably ended with the marriage of the lovers, but now George Sand and the Countess Hahn-Hahn lifted the veil from married life, and showed that

Barathie *Lithograph*

WAITING-MAID IN FRONT OF THE GLASS

happiness did not begin, but ended with this event. They represented marriage as joyless and unhappy—at the best wearisome ; it was, according to them, the death of love, and true free love could only exist when freed from its shackles.

During the First Empire love and passion had been but the passing gratification of the moment, but now love was to be the one lasting object of life and being—it was to be romantic ; it was to mean the sacrifice of loved and loving. Rank and station, husband and children, money and fame, of what account were these when love called ; and this

Devéria *From "Les Femmes"*

Devéria *Lithograph*

Maurin *"Elle sera aussi jolie que toi"*

poetical attitude was not confined to novels but found its representatives among the living. Faustine, the heroine made famous by Hahn-Hahn, forsakes three husbands in turn, as neither satisfies the longings of her nature. But what is she to the beautiful Lady Ellenborough, who, after having married five Europeans in succession, takes an Arab sheik for her sixth husband! Where do we find any fictitious adventures surpassing those of real life?

The wife of Christian VIII. of Denmark, Charlotte Friederike of Mecklenburg, falls in love with her French music-master, is caught *en flagrant délit*, and banished to Jutland; and having consecrated her whole life to love, dies

La Mode 1831

a sister of mercy at Rome. The wife of George IV., the first gentleman of Europe, visits the Mediterranean in company with the handsome Italian Bergami, and does not blush to have all the details of their intimacy made public in open court in 1820. The Duchesse de Berry sacrifices her good name to her passion, and compromises her son's future.

Love, moreover, did not only triumph independently of all prejudices of classes, but also of all restrictions of age. Goethe was seventy when he became enamoured of Ulrike von Levetzow; Friedrich von Gentz, a grey-haired man and near his end, when Fanny Elssler took possession of his heart; the princess Dorothea Lieven waited till she was fifty to be

Schwind (*About* 1833)
From "Album for Smokers and Drinkers"

overcome by her passion for Guizot, equally advanced in age. And what novelist could have imagined a more romantic deed than that associated with the name of Charlotte Stieglitz, who strangled herself in Berlin during the Christmas of 1834, in the hope thereby of inspiring her greatly beloved, but moderately gifted husband, the poet Heinrich Stieglitz, to the composition of a great work. Constanze Meyer cut her throat in May 1821, in her despairing love for her master Prudhon, and Léopold Robert was at the height of his fame in 1835 when he shot himself on account of his unhappy love for a Bonaparte princess.

And what the authors left unwritten they made good in their own lives. George Sand did not vent her glowing feelings in her books alone; she could not live without love, whether the object of it was a Chopin, an Alfred de Musset, or any other. The Comtesse d'Agoult gave up husband, children, and position to follow Liszt. The Countess Hahn cast her spells upon men like Heinrich Simon, or Baron Bystram, and that not for a while only, but for a whole lifetime; they clung faithfully to her till she died, although she was at all times rather ugly than beautiful, and had nothing but her intellectual qualities to give them in exchange.

And who among all writers lived more the life he described in his works, was more the Don Juan and the Manfred of his own creation, than Lord Byron? Young, handsome, rich, noble, and highly gifted, nature seemed to have denied him no good gift, and to have fitted him to be the idol of his age, of which he was the true embodiment; and yet he wanders

Milde PASTOR RAUTENBERG AND HIS FAMILY 1833

(*Art Museum, Hamburg*)

about abroad like an outlaw, giving voice to sorrow and despair, as from a heart bleeding with hidden wounds, in poems full of fire and beauty. His soul is filled with melancholy and the weariness of life, without hope or desire, and his poems breathe his despair; his suffering is incapable of healing, for his suffering is life. The poems mirror the spirit of the times he lived in; no one before had felt so strongly, or sung so convincingly, of the discord between nature and life. He gave fascinating expression to the Weltschmerz of a whole generation, and his charm was irresistible to his contemporaries, for he wrote what every-

La Mode 1830

body felt, or thought they felt. Prince Metternich knew whole cantos of "Childe Harold" by heart!

Weltschmerz was the fashion. Everybody who claimed to be a *bel-esprit* was torn in soul. Urns and weeping-willows, lonely sea-shores and quiet churchyards, became the subjects of poetry and art, as formerly in the days of Werther and Siegwart, when the grandfathers of this generation went mad over Ossian. The Weltschmerz broke the heart of those who were really capable of deep feeling. Daniel Leszmann committed suicide in 1831; Nikolaus Lenau ended in a madhouse. To the greater number it was only a matter of fashion, quickly dispersed by other and stronger sensations.

And these were supplied to the less refined tastes of the

From Gavarni's "Physionomie de la population de Paris" 1832

10 *o'clock*

From "La Journée de la Parisienne"—(Devéria)

mass of the people by Alexandre Dumas and Victor Hugo. The former, a gay and practised hand, with his deliberate art and unfailing imagination, became at once the darling of the public, delighting it with his brilliant historical descriptions, which were not lacking the warm touch of passion. The latter, a true poet, with his splendidly-conceived men and women, brought about a revolution in literature and the drama; romanticism played its trump card with his magnificent novel of "Notre Dame de Paris." Nothing can be found comparable to it in exuberance of imagination.

4 *o'clock*

From "La Journée de la Parisienne"—(Devéria)

The age was recovering itself and growing soberer. The July revolution had brought another generation to the fore—a generation that was sufficient unto itself and enjoyed the subtle portrayal of its culture, its mode of life and feelings, in Balzac's novels.

The Radical party, however, began in 1830 to give expression to its opposition; among its leaders in Germany were Heinrich Heine, and the younger men — Gutzkow, Laube, Prutz, and others—who made feud with every obtainable weapon of scorn and mockery on this very genera-

2 o'clock

From "La Journée de la Parisienne"—(Devéria)

PORTRAIT OF MALIBRAN THE SINGER

tion. And as in the political world at that moment the fourth class had arisen to dispute with the third class for the place which the latter was preparing to occupy, so in the literary world the proletariat rose against the bourgeoisie. Eugène Sue in his descriptions of low life presented a shuddering picture of the misery and vice of the disinherited class to the eyes of the well-fed Philistine ; and George Sand in every line she wrote inveighed passionately against law and custom—against State, Church, and Society.

Evening

From "La Journée de la Parisienne"—(Devéria)

La Mode 1832

Menzel THE WORKING MAN
(*By kind permission of E. A. Seemann, Leipzig*)

The theatre followed suit. The ghastly tragedies of a Müllner, a Grillparzer, were occupying the stage at the same moment that Weber's romantic opera of "Der Freischütz," 1821, and Marschner's spectral "Vampyr," 1828, were being given for the first time. While in Germany, especially in Berlin, Raupach was entombing all desire for dramatised history under a series of unutterably dull and lifeless tragedies, in France the audiences were being kindled to excitement by a historical drama that had been inspired by the passionate spirit of the living age. The academic ideal of the older generation disappeared in the fire of the young hearts that had caught their flame from Victor Hugo's dramas; Auber's stirring music was like a revolutionary flourish of trumpets, and the performance in Brussels in 1830 of "The Mute of Portici," was even the signal for an uprising.

At this time Scribe was busy with his skilful pen providing for the amusement of the decorous middle-class; his prolific talent enabled him to hold the command of all the European stages, his plays for years being more frequently performed than those of any other dramatist. Not till 1878 did a rival present herself in the

Monnier AT THE DRESSMAKER'S

Grenier — INTRODUCTION OF THE SUITOR FROM PARIS — *Lithograph*

person of Birch-Pfeiffer, the first of whose successful plays was performed that year.

Meanwhile the nameless multitude was being treated to a new order of entertainment—the melodrama—in which music added its effect to the tale. The general public is instinctively fond of violent contrasts, and the sentimental medley of terrifying and touching episodes, of bloodthirsty violence and angelic innocence, of high-class criminality and humble virtue, accompanied by song and dance, was exactly fitted to its taste.

In the same year as "Notre Dame de Paris" appeared, another success was celebrated by the romantic school, for in 1831 Meyerbeer's "Robert the Devil" was given in the Grand Opera House in Paris, a work which threw all that he had previously written into the shade. The airs from this work and from the "Huguenots," first played in 1836, were for years familiar to high and low, and organs carried them into the farthest back streets.

But already behind this brilliant representative of the romantic opera stood a prophet-like figure who was to proclaim new doctrines of art and inaugurate a new era of music. Meyerbeer's operas were still making their triumphal procession through Europe when Richard Wagner appeared as a composer. In 1843 the "Flying Dutchman" was given in Dresden, and its rupture with tradition and custom began the hubbub of controversy which has only just subsided.

Romantic aspirations after the ideals of a past age were not synonymous with comfort, according to the opinions of a class that did not easily or willingly adapt itself to new conditions. The times and people of long ago might appear fascinating, and the present dull and mean; the life and feelings of long ago romantic, those of the present day prosaic. The middle-class citizen of age and understanding,

Tassaert *"Jules, je vais sonner!"* *Lithograph*

however, continued to pursue his way between these two extremes, utility being his chief aim ; but it was just this aim in life that was so hateful to the young and rising geniuses of the age. Youth was romantic, age sober and citizenlike ; the one followed the impulses of the heart, the other kept a steady mind, and the old and the reasonable were in the majority.

A strong middle-class element predominated during the twenties, thirties, and forties of the nineteenth century, and formed a solid basis for the development of the romantic in life, poetry, and art, which twined like a fantastic arabesque round the pages of a dreary text. The poets and artists who took refuge in the past and intoxicated their souls with its dead beauty, were followed by men of learning intent on making systematic and thorough examination of the world they had discovered. And so the years which saw the æsthetic enthronement of the Middle Ages, saw also men like Raumer, Ranke, and Giesebrecht, who pointed the way for future historians, and whose works were published contemporaneously with those of Scott, Alexis, Fouqué, Raupach, and others, and while Lessing and Delacroix were painting, and Meyerbeer, Auber, and Rossini composing. Genius passed lightly over this or that field of knowledge, learning made a systematic study of it. A liberal education was more highly prized than any mere advantage of birth or breeding, and so the Encyclopædia, as a compendium of up-to-date knowledge, became an indispensable addition to the library and even more necessary than the bath. Brockhaus and Meyer published their comprehensive works, which proved so successful that repeated editions were called for, and publishers were encouraged to undertake others on a gigantic scale. Brockhaus started the Encyclopædia of Ersch and Gruber on so large a plan that ninety years have not seen its completion. Meyer's fifty volumes are a summary of the entire learning of his age.

Dura THE CHORAL SOCIETY *Lithograph*

A somewhat pedantic tone was perhaps unavoidable at a time when Louis Philippe, the citizen king—who had been a schoolmaster, and remained one when he had a crown on his head—was occupying the most conspicuous throne in Europe. He was the first to associate an educational purpose with the idea of art, and the depression caused by this introduction of a systematic and pedantic design hangs over the museum which he founded at Versailles. When the same man walks out with his umbrella, has his eight children brought up in municipal schools, and sheds tears in public over their progress and the prizes they carry off, he betrays a similar narrow-mindedness and townsman-like spirit to Frederick William III. of Prussia and the Emperor Franz. Did not Ferdinand VII. of Spain show himself a parvenu when he sent all the old pictures away from his palaces to make room for modern hangings, furniture, and clocks from Paris? Are we not conscious of the atmosphere of the Philistine's home when we hear of a Saxon prince translating and commentating Dante; of a Saxon princess writing domestic plays; a Saxon king studying botany; or a king of Bavaria not only writing, but publishing his poems? The last Wasa king went about quarrelling and haggling like a salt-huckster over his bill. The love of making one's self conspicuous is a mark of the vulgarian; and yet in what other way can we explain the conduct of Prince Pückler, who walked about Berlin with tame deer, and sat for hours together reading in his carriage "Unter den Linden," and did other absurd things. The desire to become noted accounts also for the deluge

of memoirs which began in the twenties, in which kings, chambermaids, field-marshals and sportsmen all had a share, some, like Madame Junot, becoming more verbose the less they had to say. Everybody was anxious to show that he or she was a distinguished person, and not a mere plain, honest gentleman or lady.

The citizen set up his virtue in opposition to the pride of the aristocrat. He was admired and laughed at; no one wished to belong to his class. Everybody aimed at something higher, and so the title *bourgeois* came to be one of contempt, and Louis Philippe's winged word, *juste-milieu*, to be significant of mediocrity.

Menzel THE OFFICIAL

(By kind permission of E. A. Seemann, Leipzig

Journal des Dames 1832 : *December*

III

THE tendency of literature and science to make the past their sole object of study was shared by the plastic arts, which now set up and slavishly obeyed a strict formula, as follows: That which is old is always beautiful; that which is modern is ugly: the artist must seek to represent beauty alone, and so must turn his eyes away from the present world, which is not a worthy subject for high art. High, as applied to art, was a term that had only lately been brought into use, and indicated the new and mistaken position that art had assumed. Up to the close of the eighteenth century art had been devoted to the service of the aristocracy, and besides filling their churches and castles with painting and sculpture, had ornamented their furniture and utensils. The highly-cultivated taste of a class that had for generations been accustomed to ease and luxury set as high a value on Caffieri's or Gouthière's bronzes, on Martin's lacquer-work, and the furniture of Boulle, Riesener, and others, as on Watteau's or Boucher's pictures, and Coyzevox's or Clodion's sculptures. The artist, without prejudice to the value of his work, had been also a craftsman. But now all this was changed. We related in the first volume how art and artists were looked upon with contempt by the lower classes on account of their exclusively aristocratic work, and that they had to thank David for being tolerated at all. But it was owing to this very David undertaking that in future it should devote itself to the heroic and virtuous subjects which pleased the popular taste, that art started on a wrong track, and prepared a task for itself which had nothing or

La Mode 1831

little to do with its real work. The bourgeois, however, kept the artist to the lines imposed; he cared not for art as art. According to his idea it had higher aims to accomplish, in the way of education, enlightenment, and the inculcation of patriotism. We come continually both in writing and speech upon such expressions as "it is the duty of art"; "it is incumbent upon art"; and art had to wait for the grandchildren

by GAVARNI

Journal des Gens du Monde,
Paris, December 1833

TOILETTE NÉGLIGÉE *La Mode*

of the generation of 1830 to protest against this *must* and *ought*, to deliver it from the bondage of its servile position. The middle-classes had nothing in common with art and artistic productions, and this lack of appreciation made itself felt in the use that art was put to. As there was no place for it in the home it was now relegated to the museums. The works of the old masters were carried away from

churches, convents, and palaces, and from spots for which they had been especially executed and where alone they could be seen to advantage, in order that they might serve for the general purpose of education. They were torn from their associations, deprived of their personality, as recruits of their individuality, and like these were thrust into uniform apparel; for they were all taken out of their ancient frames, and after being varnished till they shone like mirrors, replaced in large new gilt ones. They were then displayed in all the monotonous surroundings of the gallery, their beauty dimmed by the dust of schoolbooks, in order to illustrate the history of art.

The same dull museum-like atmosphere is felt in the works of the artists then alive, who were forced by critics and the public to seek for inspiration in the ideal world. No subjects were thought worthy of the brush except the great and lofty deeds of antiquity; the artist had to rid himself of all humanity and individuality and to pourtray abstract beauty alone. If the critic was to praise and the people admire, there must be no suggestion of anything to be seen in house or street by the living eye, nor dared the artist on any account turn his hand to work of practical utility. Historical painting was considered the highest form of art, there was the stigma of mere craftsmanship on every other style; and so the citizen with the wish to honour what he believed to be high art did his best to keep it as much out of the way as possible.

Simultaneously with this erroneous conception of art arose the idea that the artist was a creature apart from the rest of humanity, wrapped up in his art alone, and necessarily antagonistic in spirit to his surroundings and the age he lived in. This idea was amusingly brought into play in the conflict that arose during the thirties between the art connoisseurs of Germany over the question as to whether the older masters, Dürer, Holbein, &c., actually executed

CHAPELLERIE

Grandville

their own wood-engravings. The *querelle allemande* was carried on with great heat, and the chief argument brought forward by the opposition party was, that work like this being so purely a handicraft would have been unworthy of such great men and that therefore the engraving was not done by their own hands.

The artist and the craftsman being so sharply differentiated, it was natural that any want of technical skill in an artist was readily overlooked; if a painter designed well and gave expression to great ideas in his work, it did not matter if he failed to handle his colours skilfully. Neither of the two most admired German artists of that time—Cornelius and Kaulbach—knew how to paint; indeed Cornelius boasted of his lack of skill: he despised colour, and left the painting of his cartoons entirely to his pupils. It was the contents of a picture that the public cared for; the more instructive that these were, and the more they turned the thoughts of the onlooker to matters of education and knowledge, the more they were admired, and the more perfect was pronounced the work of the artist. And so we understand why during this period when historical novels and plays had command of the market, and history was occupying itself with bygone ages, historical pictures also flourished. They presupposed the learning of the onlooker, which was flattering to vanity; they were anecdotic in part, which was entertaining; they dazzled the eye with the magnificence of their setting, and worked with pleasurable excitement on the feelings, for they commanded the whole range of sensations—from mere curiosity to the most enjoyable shudder of fear and horror.

The generation of 1830 found everything it wanted in the historical picture: food for the understanding and romantic pleasure for

the feelings. And so it was not by a mere chance that Victor Hugo's "Notre Dame," Meyerbeer's "Robert the Devil," and Delaroche's "Death of the young Princes in the Tower," belong to the same year, 1831; they represented the culminating phase of romanticism.

Classicism had received its death-blow, David and his school were superseded and entirely forgotten. Any one who refused to follow the stream of fashion, like the aged Gros, was looked upon with scorn; and this poor artist took it so much to heart that he voluntarily sought death in 1835. There was no essential difference between the romantic historical picture and the classic, as represented by David; the scenery and make-up alone were different. One may remember in Ludwig Adrian Richter's autobiography the comic description of the historical class at the Academy, and of the disgust of the young artist at the automaton figures and draperies; the only difference now was that living models were draped, and that the subject was taken from the Middle Ages instead of from classic times. Delaroche, Wappers, Gallait only did what their predecessors had done in seeking the favour of the public; they displayed no higher artistic qualities, but they supplied the taste of the day with what it wanted and so they and their works were carried in triumph throughout Europe.

Mediævalism predominated in picture and book and on the stage; from these we can judge of the æsthetic taste of the day, but can learn little of its inner life, which hid itself as if ashamed of the outward form it bore. Only for portrait-painting did art interest itself in the men and women then alive, in order to represent them as they themselves loved to appear—the women idealised, the men with added dignity and importance.

It is thus we have them from the brush of Sir Thomas Lawrence, the favourite artist of fashionable circles, and as enthusiastically admired in Vienna as in London. He has given us pictures of the society men and women of his time as they would themselves have chosen to be handed

Adam DECLARATION OF LOVE 1830

(*From "Passe-temps"*)

down to posterity. There is an ethereal atmosphere about his women; they seem to evaporate into veils and clouds, and to belong to this world against their will—their bodies bound to this earth, but their souls the denizens of another sphere into which they are longing to escape. Their languishing looks, the soft roundness of neck and bosom, which the light garment rather exposes than conceals, betray, however, no indifference to the admiration of their earthly beholders. Weltschmerz being the fashion, it was necessary that they should manifest a contempt for this world's pleasures, but though they were bound to speak of them as fleeting, their beautiful eyes and full smiling lips are a convincing proof that these pleasures were sweet to them notwithstanding.

The men given us by Lawrence are the princes and rulers of the Restoration period, field-marshals who had their share in the defeat of the Corsican, diplomatists who were active members at the Congresses assembled in Vienna, Karlsbad, Laibach, and Verona, to undo all that had taken place since 1789. Something of the feebleness of this

Kaiser COMPANY AT A BALL *Lithograph*

generation clings also to these portraits. The chief desire of these men is to hide their thoughts, and so the artist has been satisfied to show us only their external form—elegant, distinguished, and a little effeminate; men who are able to command but are afraid of the morrow.

Another fashionable painter, a contemporary of the above, was the French artist Gérard, who had made a name for himself while Napoleon was still in power. As a rival of David he surpassed the latter in his portrait-painting, for he knew how to flatter effectively while remaining faithful to truth, how to add charm to beauty, and polish and chic to dignity.

But Ingres was the painter *par excellence* of the men and women of his age, and the portraits of three generations have been preserved to us by him. In his portrait of the aged Bertin, the editor of the *Journal des Débats*, we have a creation that embodies the whole age in which he lived. This acute-looking old gentleman is the representative of the *tiers-état*—self-sufficient, and almost painfully aware of the importance of the class to which he belongs. His appearance and attitude cry aloud, "*L'état, c'est moi*"—the present and the future are mine; self-assurance exudes from every pore. However much Ingres may fail in this respect in his other pictures, in his portraits he makes nature herself speak; true to life, he has shown the middle-classes as they lived and moved—the men stubborn and tenacious, the women capable and correct. And this is even truer of his drawings than his paintings, the cold hard colouring of the latter detracting from their effect. In his crayon studies he worked direct from nature, and they are intimately lifelike, something of the soul and mind of his sitters being given by him as well as the exact portrayal of their outward appearance. There is a sincerity, an interpretation of the sacredness, love, and seriousness of home life in his family groups that produces a religious impression.

Romantic art in Germany, influenced by the older Düsseldorf school, was marked by an emotional sentimentality

Journal des Dames 1832 : *July*

English caricature (*About* 1830)

A Hint to the Ladies

which Lessing, Sohn, Bendemann, and others brought into fashion by their elegant productions. It corresponded so completely with the taste of the age that critics and the public could not sufficiently extol these men, and Count Raczynski gives rapturous expression to his admiration of them in his history of art. With them, as with the historical painters, their pictures, as for example Kaulbach's "Destruction of Jerusalem," bristle with hidden allusions, which only the ini-

tiated can interpret, and while giving us an exact conception of what everybody thought and felt at that time, they still leave us in complete ignorance as to how everybody looked, and again we have to turn to portraits. Germany at that time could boast of no portrait-painter whose work was to survive the passing fame accorded it by fashion. One of those most in favour was Stieler, who painted the gallery of beauty for Ludwig I. of Bavaria, to the lifelong delight of this monarch, who was keenly alive to female charm. Among the beauties are ladies of all ranks and of all nationalities, but although the portraits were the work of many years there is a family likeness between them; all differences of rank, temperament, and age have been carefully obliterated in order to bring each one up to a particular ideal of beauty, and the uniformity in their bearing and appearance, although rendering each alike attractive, produces a feeling of satiety.

These painted princesses, countesses, and middle-class maidens give us no exact idea of how they looked in life, and still less do they serve as a mirror of the times, which they were no doubt in actual existence. For this we must turn to other artists, who were thought lightly of by their contemporaries since they were more unpretentious copiers of nature.

We have, for instance, the Viennese Joseph Danhauser, a sympathetic artist, who gives us many pleasing genre pictures; Albrecht Adam of Munich and Franz Krüger of Berlin, who display a noble realism in their studies of horses. Both the latter artists left large compositions dealing with military parades and similar subjects, but they managed to get the more monotonous and necessary figures into the background, leaving the foreground free for lively and naïvely excited groups of citizens, reproduced with great fidelity to life. Here we have given us genuine representations of the populations of Munich and Berlin; we see how the people dressed, how they walked and stood, how they talked and greeted one another, how they laughed and were merry. We notice in all the company a certain rigidity of bearing

Waldmüller THE ELTZ FAMILY
(*Frau Dr. Sassi, Vienna*)

which does not relax even under the pressure of enthusiasm. But the men with their stiff neckties reaching to their ears are so droll, the women in their grotesque hats and gigantic sleeves so ornamental and delightful, and together they form such a sincere picture of the times, that the heart becomes conscious of a feeling of friendly relationship with them all; if only it was now as then, when grandfather and grandmother

MADAME DE MIRBEL — CHAMPMARTIN

Gallery, Versailles

went arm-in-arm—old-fashioned it is true, but so loving and trustful!

Some valuable studies for these pictures by Krüger are extant, giving the heads of several notabilities of the day—the ballet-master Tag'ioni and his wife, the actress Stich-Crelinger with her pretty daughters, and others. They show his fine gift of discerning what was characteristic in face and appearance, and this gives their value to his series of crayon portraits, sometimes lithographed by himself, sometimes only prepared as copies for the lithographer. The modest art of lithography may be thanked for providing us with a truthful view of the life of that period—of the life of the restaurant, of the citizen world. It is the spirit of the whole period made visible, and corresponds with it so well, that we can hardly imagine how in any other way it would have found adequate expression. It superseded copper and wood engraving, for these are lengthy processes; and the times were restless and hurried and out of breath, as if pursued by fashion and taste—as if fearing that the truth of the morning had already become a lie—and so they needed a quicker method of reproduction. It is tragical to have to recall that the inventor of lithography, like so many other inventors, did not live to know or enjoy the success of his work. Aloys Senefelder, who made his name memorable through an accidental discovery by means of his mother's washing account, little dreamed that twenty years later the process he invented would have become so developed and perfected that millions of plates were being published, while he sank into the grave poor and forgotten, and oppressed with pecuniary difficulties. And yet he had made art the gift of a process that is

Schwind (*About* 1828)
ANNA HÖNIG

unrivalled for easy and quick reproduction, and which, moreover, can be used in various ways. Not, however, until, in 1816, two Frenchmen—Count Lasteyrie and Engelmann of Elsass—introduced the art of lithography into their institutions, did artists begin to patronise it. Then the properties of the lithographic stone quickly became more generally known, and when artists found how easily and faithfully their original creations could be reproduced, and that it was possible to draw, write, engrave—in short express one's self in any way one wished on the stone, the success of lithography was secured. A feverish rage arose for lithographic plates, which Charlet as early as 1823 amusingly satirises in the picture in which albums are seen raining down. Society, like a pretty woman, cannot too often look upon its own reflection; high art refused to condescend to anything modern, but the ineradicable desire of seeing reproductions of one's self and one's neighbour was now fully satisfied by the mirror held up to society by lithography.

For here it was seen as it really existed, with all its elegance and luxury, love and hate, joy and sorrow; the misery of the poor was as clearly shown as the happiness of those whom fortune favoured, the most commonplace enjoyment as the troubles and difficulties in the political world. Lithography spoke a language that everybody understood, and it did not shrink from caricaturing the follies and exaggerations of the day. The Germans did not make use of lithography for artistic purposes as soon as the French. The latter quickly made themselves masters of the art, and soon learnt how to put to good use all the possibilities of lithography. The rapidity of the process enabled every passing fad and fashion of the day to be reproduced. Horace Vernet, Raffet, and Charlet dedicated their pencils to military subjects and glorified the "Petit Caporal"; Napoleon I. owes them his legend, and Napoleon III. his crown. Eugène Lami portrayed the world of elegance and high breeding; Pigal the common people at their work; Henry Monnier the merchant and small townsman. Grand-

Tschernelow *Portraits:* PUSCHKIN, KRYLOW, SCHUKOWSKI, GNEDITSCH

ville amused himself with pictures of the bourgeoisie; Achille and Eugène Devéria worshipped the beautiful woman; Henri Daumier made a mock of the Government. The power of lithography was unlimited: it forced an older artist like Grevedon, when nearly sixty, to take up the art and to prepare his soft sweet figures of women for it; and a younger like Gavarni, to leave his easel and publish his ironical plates of the men and manners of his time. It helped Emile de Girardin to celebrate grace and beauty in the "Mode," and Charles Philippon to wage war against the July King and his reign, in the "Caricature" in which every hit tells, and every dart is poisoned. The lithographers are everywhere and nowhere; they surprise ladies of fashion at all stages of their toilette, in all moods of temper; they are equally at home in the drawing-room and the kitchen; they are as indiscreet as waiting-maids who listen at key-holes. They deride the citizen who gives himself airs, and laugh at the worthy man whose Sunday clothes are spoilt by the rain; their caustic wit assails the young man who enjoys life and sells his youth to an old wife, and the girl who has loved unwisely and for whom a kind elderly suitor sets things right again. They spare neither the inanity of the subordinate bureaucrat, the hollow pathos of phrase-mongering parliamentarians, the proud poverty of the returned emigrant, or the pride of purse of the upstart; the anointed king is an object of as little reverence as the elected one; the beggar has no better chance with them than the prince. A series of pictures gives us the daily life of the worldly man and woman from the moment of their late rising to their going to bed in the early hours of the morning; they revel in the misadventures of the unsophisticated country folk when they come up to town; in the awkward situations of illegitimate lovers, and in the mishaps of harmless townsmen.

The lithographers were the chroniclers of their period; amid a society whose position was becoming daily more precarious, it was they who had the last word, they who

Wiener Zeitschrift, June 1834

Lami PROMENADE APRÈS DINER

From "La vie de château"

provoked the liberating laughter. So vividly are the political and social conditions of the day embodied in the types which they treated that these will last as long as art survives. Is not the "Mayeux" said to be by Traviés, with his hunchbacked figure and ugliness, and his assumption, which offends every feeling of propriety, the very embodiment of those years of the Restoration in which the decaying feudal state was in deadly feud with youthful liberalism? Who will ever forget Monnier's "Joseph Prudhomme," the comfortable Philistine with his weak morality, his pharisaical consciousness of untarnished virtue, and cowardly cringing to power; or Daumier's "Robert Macaire," whose malignity proclaims the social revolution, the upheaval of all existing conditions, nihilism—equally to be interpreted in Gavarni's "Thomas Vireloque"?

That lithography did not have the success in Germany that it had in France was due to two causes: firstly, the

Madou THE PORTRAIT *Lithograph*, 1835

Madou — A Literary Discussion — *Lithograph*, 1835

general population was less highly cultured than that of France; and secondly, because the press did not enjoy the liberty that, at least during the first years of Louis Philippe's reign, was accorded to it in that country. There were excellent draughtsmen in Germany who did lithographic work, but their inspiration led them along quite different channels, and above all things they avoided politics. In Vienna interest centred round theatrical gossip; in Munich round the quarrels in literary and artistic circles, and the thrashings that Saphir brought down on himself for prying into everybody's business; in Berlin native wit was found sufficiently amusing, Glaszbrenner clothing it in a classical costume in the *Eckensteher Nante*. Lithography, however, devoted itself more particularly to portraits, and we see the whole of the society of the period preceding March 1848 in the splendid plates left by Kriehuber in Vienna, Hanfstaengl in Munich, and Krüger in Berlin. In these we have the entire aristocracy of the Austrian crown lands: ladies and cavaliers, charming, haughty and nonchalant, yet natural and full of life, with all their elegance and state. A wide gulf separates them from the people, but this does not hinder them from being delightful and at ease. They are what they are by reason of their birth; and even the Emperor, the only person above them, has nothing to give or take from them, they are beyond the pale of court temper and favour. How different to the official class in Berlin, which the Prussian artists love to portray; there are the soldiers looking as martial as sub-officers, the men in office as unapproachable as court flunkeys, all with their eyes turned upwards, and almost dying of veneration, in the enjoyment of a fleeting and reflected glory to which dismissal sooner or later will without doubt put an end. Munich has the handsome princes growing up round the king, the pretty actresses with their white skins, artists with wild manes, students with long pipes, all drinking

by GAVARNI — *Journal des Gens du Monde, Paris, February 1834*

beer, and all enjoying themselves in the same comfortable and good-natured way. The lithographs of the different countries speak to us in so many dialects; in the elegant ensemble, the soft outlines, the tender shadows of a Kriehuber and a Hanfstaengl we seem to hear the seductive tones of the Viennese district, the hearty ring of the voices of Upper Bavaria; in the cool hard lines and colouring of the Berlin artists the harsh, rasping, bumptious accents of the German spoken by the Spree.

Ingres MADAME BALZE

The lithographer earned his daily bread with ease, while the idealist had a difficulty in obtaining shelter for his productions in art societies and museums, and the profits of their much-extolled high art were sufficient only to provide many good artists with a bare existence. The famous Delacroix was obliged to turn to lithography to make a living, Adolf Menzel, Moritz Schwind, and others began their career with many years' work for publishers and editors of papers. But there are traces of individual taste even in the picture sheets, letter headings, menus, congratulatory cards, and the thousand other trifling occasional works for which lithography was brought into use. Many, many years before Menzel the painter professed himself á disciple of nature, Menzel the draughtsman had copied from life for the most insignificant of his vignettes, reproducing faithfully all that he saw around him in home and office, in kitchen and workshop. He introduces us to

Cruikshank *December: From "The Comic Almanack"* 1835

the quiet steady life of the middle-class, and shows us the happiness that resides in limitation—the weekday with its work, the Sunday with its modest enjoyments, the narrow round of the honest citizen's life.

An entirely different tone pervades the work of Schwind, who was the artist of fancy. His delightful legend cycle belongs to a later period, but there was not a stroke of his that did not breathe of poetry and old lore. To his women in particular he imparted an elf-like grace that made them seem like actual fairies, passing incognito through the world to comfort poor humanity by their charm for all the adversities of life. Above this visible world Schwind raised up an invisible kingdom, full of the warmth of his own glowing temperament, and echoing with the soft tones of his own chiming fancy.

Apart from all that was admired in high art and loved in the lesser, stood the works of a certain number of painters whose style of art was a thing quite new to those then alive. In England William Turner executed his miracles of colour,

Cruikshank *July: From "The Comic Almanack"* 1835

and John Constable his landscapes. Théodore Rousseau and Camille Corot, from 1830 onward, and somewhat later Jean François Millet, all of the Barbizon school, turned to nature as their model; striving to reach its very soul, struggling to express it through the medium of their colours, and untiringly endeavouring to reproduce the true effects of light and air and life. The critics and the public laughed at them; their works were not accepted for exhibition; Constable died in 1837 in bitter poverty, and Turner's friends made excuses for his style in the bad condition of his eyesight. They continued to paint in spite of the contempt of their contemporaries, and the rejected stone became the corner-stone of modern art.

The taste for antiquity prevalent in æsthetic circles was most conspicuous in the architecture of the time. The nineteenth century developed no style of building of its own; iron, so technically serviceable and so suitable for many purposes, was passed over, and when its use was obligatory builders obstinately continued to hide it, and neglected to profit by its capabilities of architectural adornment. Architects continued

Maurin *"Ah, que cette bague est jolie!"* *Lithograph*

to work on classic lines—Schinkel in Berlin, Klenze in Munich, Sprenger in Vienna, who erected buildings more or less successful imitations of ancient styles. The taste of the day, however, was divided between the classic and the mediæval styles. Orders were given for castles such as were seen in days of chivalry: Prince Frederick of Prussia has his Rheinstein, Crown Prince Maximilian of Bavaria his Hohenschwangau, Frederick William IV. his Stolzenfels, Schwanthaler builds Schwaneck for himself. And so the architects had to adapt their plans accordingly, and they were not more successful at reproducing the middle ages than they had been with the classic period; the imitation of the latter had consisted chiefly

Gentile, after Krüger (*About* 1835)

AMALIE MARIE ANNE, PRINCESS WILHELM OF PRUSSIA

in the arbitrary and disconnected use of pillars, for the other style they were frankly content to go to as little trouble as possible.

Look at Ludwig I.'s buildings in Munich—barracks with symmetrical rows of windows. If they are pointed at the top, it is a building in the Gothic style; if round-arched, Romanesque. A charming motive from a Florentine palace is repeated five times, and there, without more ado, you have the Early Renaissance. Or again, notice the Norman castle built for the Horse Guards in Potsdam; an out-and-out barrack but with battlemented roof, and so you have the Norman style.

Gavarni *June : Lithograph*

These were all, however, mere harmless fancies of the day —it was a matter of far more fatal consequence that architects not only erected spurious buildings of this kind, but that they destroyed many that were old and genuine. Incapable of original work, and with but a superficial knowledge of mediæval architecture, they set to work to restore and disfigure the splendid religious and secular monuments left by the past. There was hardly a mediæval piece of architecture in the whole civilised world which they left untouched, and did not deface with their ignorant handling—and what is worse, they are at the work still.

The style to which the Empire gave its name, although it did not create it, outlived the fall of imperial power for

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many years. We might feel astonished that a mode of dress which could have had little to recommend it to the greater number of its wearers should have lasted for nearly thirty years, if we did not know that the instinct of imitation and the power of endurance are the two chief factors which decide the length of life of a fashion. The desire of the women to make themselves look as slim and statue-like as possible was carried to the extreme in their dress after the Vienna Congress. The classic style had indirectly developed into the undress style, indicative of the longing to return to a state of nature; and then gradually in the course of another twenty years dress left nature farther and farther behind until it became truly grotesque.

A. Barre 1837
FANNY ELSSLER, IN "LE DIABLE BOITEUX"

The high waist ended immediately under the bosom, as if wishing to make the various parts of the woman's body look as uncomfortably proportioned as possible. The plain straight dress ended by this time above the ankles, and a high cylindrically-shaped hat gave an additional length to the narrow elongated figure.

The return of the royal family to Paris was the signal for the first innovations in dress towards the romantic style, ruffs and befeathered toques à la Henry IV. being then introduced. These additions to the feminine toilet were not conducive, however, to the improvement of the general appearance, and indeed only helped to make the bodice, which began at the neck with a full large ruff and ended immediately under the arms, look shorter and more out of

Wiener Zeitschrift, November 1835

La Mode 1837: *February*

Wiener Zeitschrift 1835: *April*

proportion than before. Only by slow degrees did women give up this style of bodice. In 1820 a cautious beginning was made with the Marie Stuart waistband, which gave a little more length to the bodice that now ended in a point instead of being round at the bottom. Between 1820 and 1822 the bodice reassumed its normal shape, the waist being brought down to its present position, and simultaneously with this alteration the corset reappeared; it had been worn in England since the first decade of the century and being now the fashion in Paris it soon made the triumphal circuit of the other countries. The manufacture of the corset grew to be quite an art and those who could afford it sent for theirs from Lacroix in Paris, even though they cost five louis d'or.

1827

LES LAIS DE PARIS

Grandville

Wiener Zeitschrift 1835: *April*

The skirt of the dress grew gradually wider and fuller, but still left the feet free, and not till towards 1836–37 did it again reach the ground. For nearly twenty years the skirt remained untouched by fashion which found nothing to alter in its style, only trimming it more or less elaborately with puffs, flounces, folds, and furbelows, &c., so that it might devote itself to the bodice, for which it had a partiality, and more particularly to the sleeve. In 1816 the sleeve was still close-fitting, and came so far over the hand that only the fingers were seen. In 1818 short puffs were introduced, but from 1822 onwards fashion grew quite delirious over it, shapes and sizes of every description being worn which surpassed anything that had been seen in the

Wiener Zeitschrift, November 1835

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way of sleeves before. Its circumference became enormous, the "leg of mutton" sleeve only appeared to be immediately replaced by the "elephant"; and so, after women had been striving to make themselves look as slim and tall as possible, this being considered the ideal of taste, they now went to the other extreme, and for about fifteen years succeeded with their gigantic sleeves and large berthas in making themselves look almost as broad as they were long.

The light materials at that time in use, such as unbleached batiste, watered muslin, checked barège, and embroidered organdi muslin, took from the heavy appearance of the voluminous dresses; the waist looked naturally slender and wasp-like owing to the breadth of shoulder, and finally there was

the short skirt which left the feet visible, the whole giving the elegance and somewhat affected grace to the figure which delight us so in the pictures of the time and in Gavarni's excellent fashion plates.

The elegance of the ladies, however, did not depend entirely on the dressmaker, for the milliner and hairdresser had also much to do with it. The hair was combed up high at the back and gathered into bunches of curls on either side of the forehead, these being brought well forward over the eyes. The head-gear added its share to the general effect of face and hair, for no woman at that time, whether in or out of the house, ever appeared with her head uncovered. At home she wore a cap, out of doors a hat, and when in society a complicated structure of lace, blonde, ruches, ribbons, flowers and feathers, which the imagination of the milliner alone was able to conceive. These head-dresses grew in magnitude in proportion with the sleeves, and attained to their extreme as regards size somewhere about 1830–31. Judging from the pictures of that day this fashion was an advantageous one for the ladies, since not being limited to material or colour, they could give free play to their taste and vanity in elaborating this setting for their faces.

For many years the turban was the favourite head-dress for state occasions. Tradition ascribes its origin to Napoleon's Egyptian campaign, but as a matter of fact it was imported on to the Continent from England, where the fashion had been introduced by Indian nabobs, and we see it already worn by the ladies in Reynolds's portraits. In 1837, however, Indian, Circassian, odalisque, Greek, and Israelitish turbans were still advertised as among the newest fashions. Another coquettish ornament which lent an additional attraction to a pretty face was also long in vogue, known in France as "Ferronière," and in Germany "Seht hierher"; it consisted of a long thin gold chain, with which a small jewel,

Grant QUEEN VICTORIA AND LORD MELBOURNE 1838
(*From the Painting in Windsor Castle*)

a pearl or such-like, was fastened to the middle of the forehead. The actual dress of those days was not very costly, but jewels were largely worn. The beautiful Madame Gros-Davillier, for instance, at a ball given in 1821, wore a white tulle dress which only cost 35 louis d'or, and 20 francs' worth of flowers, while her diamonds were worth a perfect fortune; and the jewels worn by the Baroness Rothschild in 1842 at a masked ball given by the Duc d'Orleans were valued at one and a half million francs.

The fashionable lady of the twenties adorned her hair not only with a diadem, but with a comb and pins; she also wore a necklace and a long thin gold chain, bracelets, rings, long

Krüger PAUL AND AMALIE TAGLIONI 1839

(Drawing, National Gallery, Berlin)

earrings, brooches, and a waist-buckle. If added to these she had a bouquet-holder of silver or gold, and a fan of some real material, she was only then decked out with what was considered indispensable in the way of ornament. Beautifully worked silver was usually worn when in mourning, unless cast-iron ornaments from Berlin, or polished steel were preferred. Ten years later the taste had changed, and it was thought overdressed to wear much ornament; the necklace disappeared as well as the brooch, and jewels were only allowed to be worn in the hair.

Hats, the colour of which had to be in contrast to that of the dress—a black hat with a pink dress, or a white hat with a black one—did not undergo any very marked change in style. During the occupation of the capital by the Allies, the Parisian ladies borrowed the shapes of their hats from those of the allied troops, but this was merely a passing eccentricity. Here and there even up to 1818, the narrow-brimmed, high, cylindrically-shaped hat of pink satin was still to be seen, but hats in general had by this time developed into the coal-scuttle bonnet, in which, as the mischievous stated, one could neither hear nor see; and this fashion continued with little alteration for nearly forty years. They fitted closely and projected more or less over the face, and must in any case have been exceedingly hot, even if—and it is difficult to believe what our grandmothers assert—they were becoming. During the twenties the crown was higher and the brim narrower, so that it framed the face without entirely shutting it in; it was trimmed with upright flowers, bows of ribbon, and long ribbon strings.

Fashion absolutely revelled in ribbons; not only were they required for the bonnets, but as additions to the dress in the shape of waistbands and sashes, which sometimes finished in front in long thin ends, sometimes at the back in broad sweeping tails. The designers of new ribbons were even more inventive than fashion herself, and we have nothing

Journal des Dames 1836: *July*

to-day surpassing in taste and rich combination of colours the damask, checked, shaded, shot, and watered ribbons of those days.

The low neck, which was the fashion both indoors and out, necessitated an occasional covering to keep off the cold; and the so-called Canezou, a fichu-shaped kerchief trimmed with tulle ruchings, and a long narrow scarf of silk or lace, known as a Bayadère, were introduced and worn until about 1830, when the fur boa reappeared and remained an indispensable item of a lady's toilette for many years to come, and artists never tired of the graceful, snake-like play of the boa over pretty shoulders and white arms. It was made sometimes

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of ostrich feathers, and only fell out of fashion in the forties, when the dress began to be cut high.

As long as immense sleeves continued to be worn anything in the shape of a cloak was almost an impossibility, and with the exception of the round one, known in Vienna as a "Wickler," there was nothing of the kind worn for nearly twenty years, while scarves, light wraps, tippets of all shapes and styles served as outdoor garments. The bernouse was imported from Algiers, the mantilla from Andalusia, the expensive China crape shawl from the east ; and above all the Cashmere shawl, as was stated in our first volume, became the height of fashion. Its exquisite fabric and beautiful colours and patterns, and the high price it fetched, were all

in its favour; three generations in succession continued to show their preference for it, and it was in fashion still far into the Second Empire.

The gigantic sleeves having reached the climax of their dimensions in the beginning of the thirties, began after that to diminish by degrees. The framework of whalebone which had been necessary to keep them in shape first of all disappeared, and then little by little the English fashion of the smaller sleeve became more general. The latter was puffed down to the elbow, where it grew fuller, and was either finished with a frill or else continued in a lower sleeve that fell half open. It grew less in size as time went on, and finally in 1844 it fitted closely the whole length of the arm from shoulder to wrist. We detect in this change the influence of the taste then prevalent in literature and art for ancient models, and the preference that was being given on the stage to historical plays and romantic operas. Masked balls and other entertainments for which certain costumes were prescribed led the women to make a study of old styles of dress, and they found the fashions under Louis XIV. and Louis XV. especially attractive; the result was that the extravagant form of the sleeve was abandoned, and began to resemble more that of the rococo period. The skirt grew longer and fuller, and ceased to be worn so plain; it was now draped over an underskirt of a different colour, and toilettes à la Pompadour and à la Lavallière became the fashion: the bodice à la Montespan with the long point in front, took the place of the round waist and the belt.

With the fuller plaited skirts we return to the heavier materials—velvet, moiré, damasked silk, and especially brocades were worn; transparent materials over variegated silks were also the fashion, as for instance, black tulle covered

Wiener Zeitschrift, April 1837

with gold spangles or embroidered with coloured silks. At a ball given by the banker Schickler in Paris in 1831, a lady of *haute finance* wore a gold gauze dress embroidered with diamonds.

The trimming of flounces, sometimes three or four one above the other, made the dresses heavy, and with the idea of helping to support them hoops began to be inserted in the underskirt, or rolls of horsehair (*crin*—whence crinoline), which formed a kind of scaffolding for the dress. We become aware of the revival of hooped skirts about 1840.

The hair altered its fashion together with the dress. Instead of ringlets round the forehead, coquettishly peeping out from between the folds of immense blond-lace caps, the hair on the crown of the head was worn flat, while the back hair was drawn up high and fastened with large combs; this style was known as the Chinese. The Greek was another way of dressing the hair; here we have the hair plaited from the temples and heavily wound round the ears, a flat love-lock, *accroche-cœur*, ornamenting the forehead. Somewhat later, about 1834, the hair hung in half-length curls on either side of the face, à la Hortense Mancini; these curls grew longer and longer, and at the beginning of the forties this style, which began in England, became the favourite mode of coiffure: flat crown, long curls on either side, and the back hair plaited and drawn up high with a comb or ornamental pins. Again in the course of another fifteen years the woman had entirely altered her appearance. In 1815 everything about her is tight and straight, in 1830 puffed and rounded; in 1845 the dress becomes flowing, and the capricious coquettish creature of 1830 has grown graceful and languishing. The laws which govern fashion are as inexplicable as the reasons which give rise to change of taste. Maybe there

La Mode 1839: *November*

is more connection than we think between the thoughts and feelings of a period and the style in which people dress themselves; and that being granted we can easily trace that which existed between the romantic ideas that filled the smaller heads about 1830 and the costume of the day. The frills and flounces, the many colours and shapes of the dress and headgear, were fitting accompaniments, it would seem, for the medley of chivalry, romance, Weltschmerz, mediævalism, mesmerism, and God knows what else, which in 1830 were all in turn the chief subjects of interest; while half a generation later, when social questions were seriously occupying the public mind, women's dress, as if in sympathy with these graver matters, discarded all superfluities and

Wiener Zeitschrift 1839 : *August*

became quiet and composed. To this assertion, however, the answer might justly be made, that what is called the spirit of the age is in reality the individual spirit of the community mirrored in the age.

It is impossible to say exactly what factors were the determining influence as regards women's dress, but it was certainly no longer any single individual who set the fashion. Marie Antoinette was the last sovereign who ruled the fashion. She actually introduced new styles, which the Parisian dress-makers and milliners copied, but her successors, Josephine and Marie Louise, exercised no influence over it; fashion did not follow them, but they the fashion. Paris continued to set the fashion, but it was not the ladies near the throne who inspired it. The Duchesse d'Angoulême never forgot the terrible days of her youth spent in the Tuileries and the Temple, and she devoted herself to deeds of charity and piety, dressing only in dark colours, except on such occasions as she was forced to put on finery.

Her cousin, the Duchesse de Berry, was in every respect a contrast to her—young, gay, high-spirited, and fond of life—and no reverses of fortune, or the tragic incidents connected with her husband's death, or exile, in any way diminished her love of gaiety. She joined in every kind of festivity, visited the shops in Paris, which was contrary to all etiquette, and even attended public balls, carried along by the stream of pleasure, the only element of light-hearted youth at the court of a morose old invalid king. Even she, however, only followed the fashion; and the most brilliant entertainment at which she was present, the famous ball given in March 1829, which represented Mary Stuart's entry into the Tuileries, when most of the court ladies and gentlemen were attired in the costumes of their forefathers, was only one of many similar masquerades. Two years previously, in 1827, Mlle. Mars had given one during the Carnival, and the whole of Paris had fought for invitations to it. The same actress, when playing the part of "Betty" in the "Jeunesse de Henri IV.," had before this brought the ruff and the plumed

AUGUSTE STICH-CRELINGER WITH HER DAUGHTERS (from the "Parade," 1839) KRÜGER

Royal Palace, Berlin

La Mode 1839: *September*

hat into fashion; and even under Louis Philippe we find that it was the pretty theatrical artistes and not the royal family who directed what the fashions were to be.

The queen and her sister-in-law were too old to interest themselves in new styles, the Duchesse d'Orléans too much of a stranger; her short marriage—which was inaugurated, as had been that of Marie Antoinette, by a great catastrophe, that of the Champ de Mars, June 14, 1837, and which ended in July 1842 by the tragic death of her husband—left her no time to become at home in France. But Leontine Fay with her soft beauty, Julia Grisi, Cornélie Falcon, and other actresses of fascinating appearance, while they created their rôles, also set the fashion with the toilettes which they themselves wore with such consummate grace.

The richness of stage costumes, which has continued to this day, was then a novelty. It was quite an event when in 1818, Mlle. Mars appeared in a pink tulle dress which cost 282 francs. Twelve years later the correspondent of a German paper writes quite ecstatically from Paris about Mlle. Bertin of the Théâtre des Variétés, who in her latest character had changed her dress seven times, an example which he holds up for imitation to German actresses, who were to be seen in one and the same dress when walking out and on the stage.

Though the sceptre of fashion was now wielded by actresses instead of queens, it still held its throne in Paris, and no aristocratic bride thought of getting her trousseau made anywhere else. Mme. Minette prepared the wedding outfit of the Queen of Spain in 1830, Calliaux a year later that of the Princess Marianne of the Netherlands, on the occasion of the latter's marriage with Prince Albert of Prussia; and even the Countess Alexandrine Potocka, although within much nearer reach of Vienna—where Petko of the Kohlmarkt, and G. Beer in the Dorotheergasse, and Langer in the Himmelpfortgasse made such charming costumes for the ordinary wearer—ordered her trousseau in 1840 from Paris.

The fashions in Germany were also imported from abroad, and the effort made by Doctor Jakob Meyerhoff of Berlin, in 1816, to introduce a standard mode of dress for men, was as unsuccessful as David's similar attempt in France twenty years before. Men's dress, however, did not undergo such radical changes as the women's. The trousers continued to be worn tight, stockinet being preferred as the material for these; the tail-coat was *de rigueur* for dress occasions, the ordinary coat being reserved for *négligé* attire. More extravagance was expended on waistcoats and neckcloths, for the suit made in one piece, invented by the tailor Wildgans

Krüger — *From "Taking the Oath of Allegiance to Frederick William IV."* — 1840

(*Monbijou Palace, Berlin*)

Dieffenbach Meyerbeer Schelling Wilh. Grimm
Cornelius Schönlein A. v. Humboldt Rauch Jak. Grimm
Tieck

of Mainz in 1830, did not meet with any approval. The waistcoat was the favourite article of attire, its material and cut exercising the ingenuity of fashion; in 1821 it altered its shape five times in eight months, and during a period of some years it was the fashion to wear two vests, one above the other, the under being of black velvet, the upper of white piqué.

In 1831 real stones were used for buttons, and although velvet still continued the favourite material, in 1832 cashmere waistcoats, costing 200 francs or upwards, were also fashionable. These bright and sumptuous waistcoats still held sway long after the general dress of the men had become dark. In 1844 the *dernier cri* was a waistcoat of crimson gold-embroidered velvet, or of white satin worked in coloured silks, to be worn with a black dress suit.

The lack of colour which is conspicuous nowadays in men's dress became first noticeable at the close of the forties. In 1832 a dark green tail-coat, light green waistcoat, and violet-coloured trousers were quite in style. A fashionable horseman in 1837 was clad in a violet blue tail-coat with gold buttons, and white velvet breeches; the dandy in 1840 still chose a light blue tail-coat, lilac waistcoat and white trousers for his attire, if he did not prefer a tail-coat of shot-coloured woollen material, brown and green or some other mixture, and a yellow waistcoat.

A like predilection for colour was seen in the cloaks. In 1827 a blue pilgrim's cloak with five collars or capes lined with white taffeta silk was the envy of every one who could not afford to buy it, as was in 1822 the grey fur cloak trimmed with chinchilla. To a great extent there was a sympathy between the fashions for men and women. When women were beginning again to wear corsets, waistcoats and coats were cut so close to the figure, that men were obliged whether they liked it or not to lace themselves in, and those who refused to wear corsets had to substitute

La Mode, Paris, June 1840

Winterhalter 1840

VICTOIRE AUGUSTE ANTOINETTE DE SAXE-COBURG-GOTHA,
DUCHESSE DE NEMOURS
(*Gallery, Versailles*)

Danhauser — Liszt at the Piano — 1840

Berlioz (?) Paganini Rossini
Dumas (?) George Sand Liszt Comtesse d'Agoult

a basque belt worn next the skin, a general item of dress after 1830.

As regards jewellery, men vied with the ladies on this ground in the expensive pins with which they fastened their artistically arranged cravats; and as to the hair, when the ladies wore their hair over the forehead the men put theirs in curl also and piled it up in the same manner; while for a certain length of time—somewhere about 1830—the men's cloaks swept the ground like the trains of the ladies. Women got their fashions from Paris, the men from London. It was so when the immortal Brummel was the leader of fashion—Brummel, who required three coiffeurs to arrange his hair; the one who understood how to deal with the back not being sufficiently practised in the arrangement of the curls on the forehead, and the one who accomplished this having to make way for a third to give them the right set round the temples

QUEEN OF THE BELGIANS

Franz Xaver Winterhalter

Gallery, Versailles *(about 1840)*

Milde DIRECTOR CLASSEN AND FAMILY 1840

(*Art Museum, Hamburg*)

—Brummel, who ordered his gloves from two firms, one only making the thumbs, the other the rest of the fingers. But the Brummel of legend was no more; he was dragging out existence in a French asylum, and his place was taken in London by Count d'Orsay and in Paris by M. de Montrous. They did not reign, however, without opposition; the envious affirmed that they were in the pay of their tailors and other outfitters, and that whether they ordered from Jackson in London or from Humann in Paris, or got their cravats from Dafour, they had their things for nothing, their names being sufficient remuneration as an advertisement to the firms they

dealt with. Count d'Orsay, whose income consisted merely of the pension allowed him by the wife who had separated from him, ordered on one occasion twenty-five dress coats of exactly the same pattern, fearing that he could never again come across such a perfect creation.

IV

It is only with hesitation that I have endeavoured to demonstrate the relationship between the tone of the age and its fashions of dress, for one is apt in such an attempt to find merely what one went out to seek. We are not exposed to the same danger, however, in the examination of the furniture and household arrangements of this generation of 1830. The "show me your room and I will tell you what you are" holds good for this period at least. The would-be people of position made a virtue of necessity, and feeling assured that distinction resided only in simplicity they carried the cold style of the Empire to an excess of dulness. Sparsely furnished rooms; wall-papers thinly patterned; flat polished surfaces to the few articles of furniture, which made dusting quite a pleasure; engravings or lithographs in plain frames, very far from decorative, making dark patches against the walls—such were the dwelling-rooms in which the people of that time found comfort and pleasure in passing their days. The window-curtains were the only ornamental additions, these being preferably composed of several shawls of different colours draped in as artistic a manner as possible; and indeed for nearly a century the tasteful arrangement of the curtains was the sole opportunity given for the exercise of decorative art.

The furniture remained as the Empire had left it, only if anything more severe in outline, more polished in surface, and with the bronze ornamentation less lavishly applied. Mahogany was the favourite wood, its beautiful reddish tone under careful treatment becoming in time a splendid warm-toned brown. The furniture of this period had something ponderous and consequential about it; its solidity and durability represented the workmanlike performance of an efficient middle-class, which knew the value of its possessions and prized them accordingly. And so to the old cupboards of a former

generation they added a piece of furniture which exactly corresponded to their mode of existence—a sideboard, with a looking-glass at the back, and glass doors to the side cupboards, so that their contents could be displayed to all eyes and yet be protected from dust and thieving fingers—it was pre-eminently the piece of furniture of this plain worthy class of society.

The romantic element betrayed itself in the swans, which previous to 1830 were so often used for the arms of sofas and arm-chairs; and more still in the pseudo-Gothic style, which carried its delight in the Middle Ages even into the furniture. Pseudo-Gothic, so called because it did not copy direct from genuine old Gothic furniture, but drew inspiration from Gothic cathedrals, borrowing from it the idea of the pointed window, and constructing furniture and various utensils in a style which the more it resembled church architecture the more it was admired. From this period dates the chair with a church window for its back, the book-cover ornamented with Gothic traceries, and clocks with cathedral fronts.

Droll specimens of this style of furniture are still found in all the Gothic castles from Oscarshall near Christiania to Laxenburg near Vienna, one worthy of especial mention being the writing-table of King Ludwig I. constructed by Munich artists, in which every description of Gothic church architecture may be studied, and which to use or to keep dusted must have been a veritable penance. It was, in a word, architectural furniture.

Schinkel carried on the traditions of the classical style and prepared designs for the entire furnishing and decoration of castles, as well as for the furniture of more ordinary dwelling-houses; his style, while less pompous than that of

Wiener Zeitschrift, July 1840

Percier and Fontaine, was less reserved than that of Desmatter and Jacob.

Towards the middle of the thirties iron began to be used for bedsteads, chairs, small tables, and flower-stands; and that any kind of wood could be imitated in it made it doubly appreciated, which was also indicative of the age. Shortly after 1840 upholstered furniture appeared in France, and thereafter became exclusively the fashion.

The only piece of furniture now with which art had any immediate concern was the clock, which was shaped like a pedestal and supported figures, thus giving opportunity for the expression of romantic taste. Some have the Freischütz and Agatha, Phœbus and Esmeralda, Robert the Devil cursing, and Fanny Elssler dancing; knights and damsels, minstrels, troubadours, shepherds, noble youths, robbers, nuns, singing, praying, loving and despairing. Candelabra stood on either side of the clock, and where possible vases filled with artificial flowers occupied the intervening spaces, typical of the taste of the day. All this splendour was covered with a glass shade, and stood in France on the chimney-piece, in Germany on the chest of drawers in the best room. The material used was at first bronze, afterwards bronzed zinc. In Germany sculptured alabaster vases, shells, and clocks were sent out from Vienna; this softer material being easier to work and consequently cheaper, and there was a sugary elegance about it which pleased a sickly taste. People of the higher class loved to fill their rooms with valuable china—old Dresden, old China and Japan—but pedantry had its say even in the arrangement of the porcelain. In the rococo period the china cabinets were a triumph of decorative art, climbing lightly up the mirrored walls that hardly seemed to support them and that gave back numerous coquettish reflections of the figures, shells, and vases which were irregularly arranged on the delicate brackets, grace and elegance being the first consideration, as befitted the fragile

QUEEN ELISABETH OF PRUSSIA 1840

(*Bronze: Monbijou Palace, Berlin*)

nature of the ornaments. But when we come later to the worthy citizen's house we have plate upon plate, shell upon shell, arranged in regular line on the shelves behind the glass doors of the cupboard, exactness and symmetry being now the great aim of the decorator; everything painfully according to rule, even in the trifling ornamentations of the boudoir.

The middle-class citizen whose means did not allow him to buy old porcelain, indulged his taste for china by ordering it from the factories of Berlin, Vienna, Nymphenburg, &c.; and it was the coffee-cup especially that afforded him oppor-

Meyerheim QUEEN ELISABETH OF PRUSSIA *Lithograph*, 1840

tunity to express his tastes and sentiments. Here he could be patriotic and sentimental, extravagant, thoughtful, witty, sympathetic, facetious, humorous — whatever he wished. The cups were painted with historical scenes, with portraits of the royal family, or views of celebrated places; they were ornamented with family portraits, or those of contemporary celebrities. The language of flowers provided delightful riddles for lovers; married couples could express their love for one another without having recourse to words; parents, children, friends, relations, superiors and inferiors showed their affection for one another in the cup, which was the chosen present and the favourite ornament. And so we find Frederick William III. piling his study with pyramids of china cups, and the middle-class householder filling his glass cupboard with cups, mementoes of the most important events and hours of his life.

Comfort was as unknown within the house as outside. The cleanliness of the streets left much to be desired, as did also the lighting; for many years the Berlin "gutter-stone" fracture, a broken wrist occasioned by people putting up their hands to save themselves as they fell into the gutter, was well known to the surgeons. In 1817 a certain Horn of Dresden invented the lantern-stick, a walking-stick that could be converted into a lantern and so light the pedestrian home. Lighting by gas was brought over to Paris from England in 1818. It did not meet with much favour from the population in general, but the king interested himself in it. Gas was not introduced into Germany till later. In January 1823 it was first used for the modern lighthouse, and in 1826 the streets

Winterhalter

MARIE CLEMENTINE CAROLINE OF ORLEANS, PRINCESS OF SAXE-COBURG

(*Gallery, Versailles*)

La Mode 1840: *May*

of Berlin were first lighted by it. When on September 18th of that year Unter den Linden was lit up, all the gas-lanterns burst, to the great delight of the street boys and those who prophesied evil of the innovation.

Social intercourse now assumed a more democratic form. Under the *ancien régime* a grand seigneur held open table for his friends, either daily, or at least once a week; this was a duty imposed on him by his position. The bourgeoisie were more inclined to economy; clubs were started in France and similar meeting-places in Germany. Napoleon I., fearful that they might harbour conspiracies, would not allow the introduction of clubs, which were already known in England; but under Louis Philippe as many as four were opened, among

Winterhalter 1839

HELENE ELISABETH OF MECKLENBURG-SCHWERIN, PRINCESS OF ORLEANS

(*Gallery, Versailles*)

them one which still retains its supremacy, the Jockey Club. In Germany the Vereine, and casinos were started; here the cost of entertainment was shared equally by all the guests, and the aim was to obtain as much as possible at a minimum of cost. Hanfft founded his "Erholung" in Hamburg in 1816, but it did not succeed owing to the exclusiveness of the better families, and to the fact that the proprietor could not count upon Sunday visitors, as on that day high and low left the town and went excursions into the neighbouring country. On the other hand, the musical society started in Dresden in 1820 flourished for years; its members met in turns at each other's house every fortnight from 6 to 10 in the evening. Equally patronised was the literature society that met every Wednesday in Berlin from 1826; it was followed later by the "Tunnel under the Spree," a society to which for many years all the chief literary men and women belonged, and which had its meeting-place by the river.

At the private balls given in Vienna, the host, to repay his expenses, took an entrance fee which amounted sometimes to as much as six florins. Castelli and Saphir have given comic descriptions of what happened in connection with this arrangement. The economy practised even in the best circles throws a light on Bismarck's anecdote of how he and his friends were once asked to a house where the supper was always of the most frugal description, so they took some bread and butter with them which they ate in the pauses of the dance. He adds that they were not again invited.

The amusements for old and young were much what they are now—the former played whist, the latter danced. In addition to the waltz, which had become general under the Empire, the mazurka and the schottische were introduced during the July monarchy. The polka was such a favourite dance and was performed with so much vigour and enthusiasm, that the comic writers of 1844 spoke of the "Polka Morbus." Countess Appony, the wife of the Austrian ambassador, brought the morning dance into fashion in Paris; hitherto late evening had been the only time for these entertainments.

Rayski MINA POMPILIA

—Oh! regarde donc . . . voilà Clarisse qui depuis trois jours fait sa princesse Russe . . . . elle sort avec un cachemire cinq quart à midi, au mois de juillet . . . .
—Ça fait suer! . . . .

From Beaumont's "L'Opera au XIXe siècle"

In 1826 the balls began after ten o'clock, and in 1831 the supper at Paris soirées was not served before two o'clock in the morning. Sometimes the whole day was given up to festivity, as at the birthday fête of the Empress Charlotte of Russia, on July 13th, 1829, given in the new palace at Potsdam, when the "Magic of the White Rose" began with a

"On a souvent besoin d'un plus petit que soi"

From Gavarni's "La vie de jeune homme" 1841

tournament in the morning, followed by living pictures, and ended late in the night with a ball.

It was during the Vienna Congress that we hear the first mention of living pictures, which became from that time a favourite mode of amusement. Whole series of pictures were given on especial occasions—as at the Court of Berlin, where in 1818 the inauguration of Eros Uranios was represented, and in 1821 "Lalla Rookh." On the court day in Ferrara in 1843, the pictures were of a kind that required literary, historical, and æsthetic knowledge both in posers and audience. Speeches and songs were based on the text of some famous author, Thomas Moore being chosen for "Lalla Rookh" in Berlin, and Schulze's "Magic Rose" for Count Palffy's masquerade given in Dresden in 1822; the preference shown to Walter Scott has already been mentioned. We spoke before of the Duchesse de Berry's ball. In Germany the great fancy costume procession prepared by the Munich artists in 1840 in honour of King Ludwig made a great stir. Beside this may be placed the carnival procession

Cruikshank 1842

Premium: From "The Comic Almanack"

Cruikshank 1842

Discount: From "The Comic Almanack"

in Mannheim, 1841, which represented the marriage of the Emperor Frederick II. with Isabella of England.

However, people cannot go on dancing for ever, and in 1831 ladies started a new entertainment for themselves in the shape of lotteries for the benefit of the poor, and in 1843 the Queen held the first charity bazaar in the Tuileries, the money being collected for the victims of the earthquake in Guadeloupe.

There were not many disciples of sport in those days. Tilting was considered politically dangerous in Prussia, and boxing—which became the rage in Paris for a while after the appearance of Eugène Sue's "Mystères de Paris," so that professors of the art were invited over from England—was not as yet patronised in Germany. The affection for the Middle Ages brought hawking into fashion as well as archery, Queen Victoria distinguishing herself in the latter art when young; but these were but passing fashions. A sport intro-

— Quel est ce Monsieur qui te suit ?
— Un fort marchand de bois . . .
— Bonne connaissance !— . . . laisse toi chauffer ! . . .

From Beaumont's " L'Opera au XIX^e siècle"

duced on to the Continent from England, and which took more lasting hold of the people, was that of horse-racing.

On June 17, 1829, the first race of native-bred horses took place in Berlin, the training and condition of the animals having been superintended by Baron Eckardstein and a riding-master from Willisen. In Paris horse-racing was encouraged by the Duc d'Orléans, who was killed in 1842 by a fall from his carriage.

From about 1830 it became the fashion for ladies to ride, and we find models of riding-habits in the fashion books. Soon it was the proper thing to be seen on horseback along the fashionable drives; the splendid Prater-allee in Vienna, and the Grosser Garten in Dresden date from that time, and in 1833 Berlin opened the drive between the Brandenburg gate and the house of the royal ranger which runs through the Tiergarten.

If, however, matrimony was not reached through any of these society portals, the unsuccessful ladies had a further opportunity given them from the beginning of the twenties by the matrimonial bureaus. Villaume's in Paris had an exceptional reputation in 1826, while the bureau Defoy had to thank the fact that the poisoner and diamond-robber, Marie Lafarge, born Capelle, became acquainted through its agency with the husband whom this interesting criminal so quickly got rid of again, for the fame which it enjoyed.

The generation of 1830 liked its women to be charming, graceful, and delicate. It again became the fashion to be pale and to faint continually, as Mme. de Girardin informs us. No woman in society went without her lorgnette, which lent her an additional touch of amiable helplessness; and if she ate little at table, and put her glove by mistake into her glass, it all helped to show how ethereally she was constituted. Brillat Savarin had extolled the graceful lady eater, but that was *vieux jeu;* a woman who thought anything of herself could at the most allow herself to nibble a few sweetmeats; in 1825 she began to require water to rinse her mouth, and in 1830 bowls to wash her fingers in. While

Devéria THE MUSIC LESSON *Lithograph*

women were striving in their way to bring refinement into society, the men on the other hand introduced a vicious habit. I do not refer to the ridiculous glass stuck in one eye which kept the lorgnette of the ladies company, but to smoking. In the eighteenth century no one in good society made use of tobacco in any form but snuff; a pipe was considered very bad form, and only allowed to the men of learned professions with a shrug of the shoulders. So things remained until about 1830, when smoking became more general, notwithstanding the opposition of the women.

Lord Byron had sung the cigar, Alexandre Dumas had extolled the cigarette. In 1840 smoking was still looked upon with some disfavour, but had become a general habit, which no laws or fines, however severe, succeeded in suppressing. In Prussia it was at first forbidden to smoke cigars in the street, then it was allowed on condition, as a safety against

EMPRESS MARIANNE OF AUSTRIA

PETER (after Daffinger) (about 1840)

From Leisching's "DIE BILDNISMINIATUR IN OESTERREICH," in the possession of the Grand-Duke of Tuscany, Lindau.

Seel FRAU ELISABETH ROEBER

fire, that it was enclosed in a wire case. Up till 1848 no smoker dared keep his cigar in his mouth as he passed a sentry, on pain of arrest.

We have already spoken of the increased facility of communication given by the development of the railways, and this affected society as well as commerce and industry. The fine roads which Napoleon had had constructed for military purposes enormously lessened the difficulties of travelling, but this became easier still when railways reduced long journeys to a matter of a few hours. And so there arose a more cosmopolitan spirit among the upper classes, while at the same time it was growing less among the nations. Englishmen, Poles, Russians, and Hungarians met one another at the houses of the *beau monde* in Paris and Vienna, as well as in the smaller towns. Count Appony, Prince Czartoryski, gave the tone to Parisian society; Count Batthyany to that of Milan. Weimar had its English circle, as also Paris, where in 1836 dukes, marquises, and lords might have been counted by the dozen. In 1814 the Duchesse d'Angoulême only went as far as the baths at Vichy; in 1824 the Duchesse de Berry went to Dieppe; and under Louis Philippe, people were beginning to visit the Pyrenæan baths, Luchon, Bagnères de Bigorre, Arcachon, and even Queen Victoria and the French king met one another at Pau instead of in Paris. Aristocratic travellers, such as Prince Pückler, carried their affectations and their surfeited tastes through the whole of Europe as far as the East; and romance-writers excused themselves to the public for letting their heroes and heroines continually drive about in post-chaises instead

Wiener Zeitschrift, March 1840

Seel THE SISTERS BLOEM 1841

of remaining quietly and elegantly at home. It was considered a record when the Emperor Nicholas in 1834 did the journey from St. Petersburg to Berlin in four days—we should hardly beat it now with only horses and carriage—while it strikes us comically to read that the King of Saxony, on September 7, 1838, travelled from Leipzig to Dresden in the unheard-of space of only 5½ hours. In 1839 the first sleeping car ran between Baltimore and Philadelphia; in 1840 the post-office business was increased not seven, but a hundredfold, by the introduction of the Penny Post into England.

Ross MRS. DALTON

The centre of social interest in Germany was the theatre; for in the Germany preceding the revolution of March 1848 no part was taken by society in politics. There was no Parliament, as in France, to supply the women with sensational topics, or as in England, where the women in 1836 with difficulty obtained permission to be present during the sittings of the House of Commons. Interest in the actual stage was not so great as in the actors and actresses themselves among the men and women to whom an exclusive government forbade any other participation in public life. Everything that actor or actress, vocalist or pianist, male or female, did or read, was a matter of the deepest interest to their audiences, and the enthusiasm with which they were regarded strikes us as quite comic nowadays.

When Henriette Sontag, who won her fame in Berlin, was reported once to be ill in Paris, some of her devoted admirers on hearing the news started from Berlin in a post-carriage, drove night and day till they got to Paris, whence,

Chassérian THE SISTERS 1843

Wiener Zeitschrift 1840: *October*

La Mode 1841 : *March*

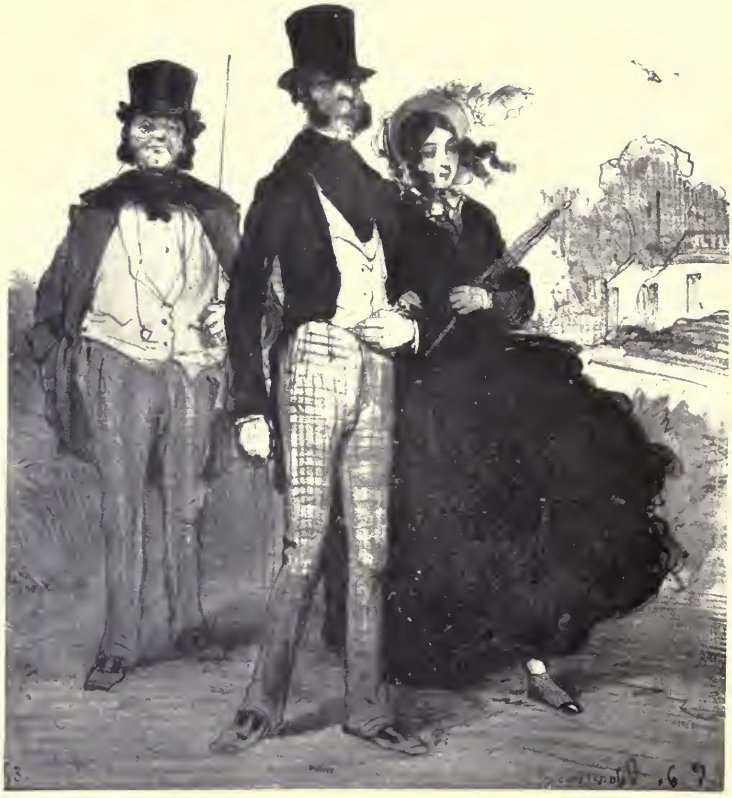
after having ascertained particulars of the diva's condition, they drove rapidly back again without pause in order that the people of Berlin might have authentic tidings of her. When the same singer went to London in 1827, the Lower House closed its sitting earlier so that the members might get to the theatre in good time. When Malibran was in Italy

Danhauser COMTESSE D'AGOULT

the horses were frequently taken out of her carriage at the close of an evening's performance, that the delighted audience might have the pleasure of dragging her home themselves.

The papers described the journeys, residences, and performances of dramatic artists with a minuteness not lavished even on the doings of crowned heads nowadays. A veritable halo of anecdote and legend surrounded the principal stars. Of the tragedian Eszlair it was reported that he was a Freiherr von Khevenhüller who, fleeing from the curses of his family, had betaken himself to the stage; and as to all that was told of Paganini no penny dreadful could beat it. That he had strangled his betrothed, and during years of imprisonment had learnt to play the violin with the help of the G-string alone, were only the least of the reports. Others made him a matricide; and while he was travelling about Europe, the theatres in London and Paris were acting melodramas of his life. His strange ugliness and wonderful playing fascinated the public, and the papers were again full of him when in 1840 he died, leaving property to the amount of 1½ millions.

The stars of that time could earn a fortune by their singing, dancing, and playing as easily as they can now; and taking into consideration the greater value of money then, the salaries were enormous. Maria Taglioni, the famous dancer, who was particularly admired in the "Bluebeard" ballet, for the "grace of the horrible," received 70,000 francs in 1832 for a three months' engagement in London. Fanny Elssler, her rival, earned 300,000 francs during a starring tour in America, and for her few performances in Havana alone 51,000 dollars. Ole Bull was paid 250,000 dollars for less than two months when he played in America in 1843; and Thalberg in 1839 received 20,000 roubles for



Casus belli, l'Angleterre jetant un regard de convoitise sur une conquête de l'Allemagne

From Beaumont's "L'Opera au XIX^e siècle"

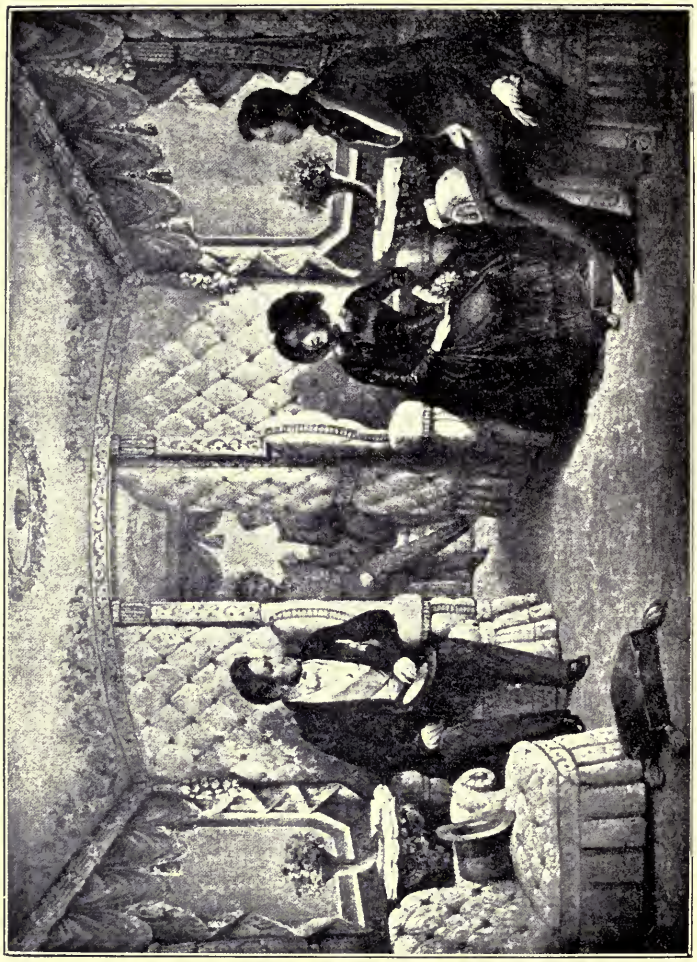
three concerts given in St. Petersburg, and 40,000 in Moscow. But Liszt threw all the others into the shade; he continued to amaze the world to the end of his long life, first by his talent as a virtuoso, then by his genius as a composer, and finally by the magnanimity of his character as a man. In the years of which we are now speaking, he was still only the clever pianist. He traversed Europe from end to end, meeting everywhere

with success; of the irresistible power which his playing and personality exercised over his audiences only those can speak who heard him, and few such are now left. If other artists boasted of their receipts, he astonished the world by his disinterestedness, and put it indeed to shame in 1839, when the idea of a Beethoven monument to be erected at Bonn threatened to be abandoned for want of funds, whereupon he immediately forwarded 60,000 francs to the committee, and undertook, if necessary, to supply the remaining sum required.

The passion for theatre-going gave rise to new professions. Clapping had been in existence since the beginning of the nineteenth century, but now the directors of the Parisian theatres employed "Pleureuses,' whose weeping secured the success of the melodrama; and "Chatouilleurs," who at the right moments saved the situation by laughing.

The atmosphere of the theatre could not have been very enjoyable, since it must, we think, have been for hygienic purposes that men and women, as we read about 1823, used to take immense bouquets of carnations in with them, some of them composed of 180 different sorts. These may have been necessary, but it sounds more comfortable that the ladies of Königsberg and Magdeburg took their knitting with them to the theatre.

If the ventilation was sufficiently deficient to require masses of strong-scented flowers, the safety of the theatres must have been equally unsatisfactory, if we may judge by the many fires that occurred during this period. On July 29, 1817, the theatre at Berlin was burnt down (the Berlin papers stated that the conflagration was the best performance that had taken place there since it had been first built). On January 14, 1823, the same catastrophe happened to the court theatre in Munich; no casualties, however, occurring except those due to the over-zealous efforts of the watchmen and police to extinguish the flames. During the years that elapsed before the burning of the Berlin Opera-House, on August 18, 1843, the same fate befell many other theatres. Theatre-going, however, was not affected by these accidents; on the contrary, the



LOUIS PHILIPPE, VICTORIA AND ALBERT, IN A SALOON CARRIAGE

increased number of professionals gave rise to the amateur, a new class of performer.

The harp continued to be the instrument for the drawing-room until after the beginning of the twenties. It was favoured by the ladies, who as harpists could show off the roundness and whiteness of their arms; but it disappeared entirely after 1830, and even such a skilled player as Parish-Alvars could not restore its popularity, which was now usurped by the piano. The latter instrument had been comparatively rarely heard before 1820, but when the great maker Erard began in 1823 to introduce his fine grand-pianos with repeating action, it came more generally into vogue. The fame and large salaries of professional pianists encouraged others to take up piano-playing, and new piano factories were started—as that of Börendorfer in Vienna, established 1828, Steinweg in Brunswick, who continued to improve the make—and the piano henceforth held its ground even against the rival physharmonica and claveoline.

Professionals had made piano-playing acceptable at private entertainments, since their art afforded subject for endless conversation. Thalberg was spoken of as the king, Liszt as the prophet of the piano; Chopin played like a poet, Kalkbrenner like a minstrel, Doehler like a pianist; Madame Pleyel was known as the sibyl, Herz as the advocate, Leopold von Meyer as the harmonious hurricane.

If we know how people clothed and amused themselves, we may go further and ask what they did to cure themselves when ill. We cannot enter here into a disquisition as to the state of medical science just then, but we may mention that about this time secular practitioners were found exercising the profession of medicine whose work was not without important scientific results. The peasant Vinzenz Priesznitz, by his water-cure, directed therapeutics along reasonable lines; and Hahnemann, by his homœopathic treatment, delivered his patients from the immense doses to which they were usually treated, a service which does him double honour, seeing that he himself was a chemist.

The cure by suggestion was exercised by the miracle-worker Prince Alexander Hohenlohe, as also by the Austrian peasant Martin Michel, with equally sensational results; and when Justinus Kerner and Gotthilf Heinrich von Schubert introduced animal magnetism, mesmerisers and somnambulists were to be met with at every turn. In Dresden in 1842 Count Szapary was the great magnetic healer, and his patients flocked to him from far and near, but he enjoyed perhaps less success altogether than the ostler Grabe of Berlin, known in 1825, whose sympathetic method of cure consisted in spitting into his patient's mouth.

Hahn EMMA BENDEMANN

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